

author himself thoroughly appreciated the benefit of being in the hands of a printer whose resources enabled him to reproduce Sanskrit or Arabic in their proper characters, with equal, if not greater facility than the anomalous dotted and accented hybrids our current type would, at the best, have admitted of.

The system I have now attempted to follow has been to recognize and retain all fixed Anglicized forms, and at the same time to embody the more definite sounds of local speech, in preference to any critical adherence to the occasionally divergent alphabets of Devanāgarī and Arabic. Dealing with Turanian Persian, redolent of the atmosphere of Dehli, which severe Continental Professors somewhat needlessly disparage, I have permitted myself a latitude which would neither stand the test of Iranian Persian, nor, in the adapted words, the criticism of an Arabic grammarian. I have further necessarily discarded uniformity, by frequently adhering, in my quotations, to the method of spelling favoured by the original author ; so that there is, perhaps, no one of my narrow list of seeming innovations for which I could not cite, from my own extracts, previous and competent authority.

The second question refers to the general absence of translations of coin legends and illustrative texts.

It has been generally confessed from the first day "Aladdin" appeared in a European dress, that Oriental names would not bear translation, and the inflated titles of the East, rendered in the subdued language of the West, would jar even more harshly upon English ideas. My leading object in this work has been to collect materials for history, in the form of documents, which it was primarily desirable to retain in their most authentic form, or in the nearest possible approach to their original integrity,—translations in such cases would be, in effect, mere repetitions; but wherever these documents have any reference to the immediate subject of discussion, free illustrations of the context are given.

The compiler of a record like the present is more than ordinarily dependent upon the aid of his fellow-labourers: it will be seen that the number of my^e disinterested contributors, though necessarily inconsiderable, has been compensated by the fullness and freeness of their gifts. My obligations are due to the many collectors of coins whose names are indicated, in more detail, in the body of the work and in the subjoined note upon the despositories of existing cabinets. I am indebted to Mr. Fergusson for the use of the effective architectural engravings

which illustrate the text. The woodcuts of coins, as may be gathered from their treatment, are the work of different hands, and vary in their execution to a marked degree. The best shaded examples are by Mr. J. Schnorr of Stuttgart; the engravings of Mr. Adeney are next in merit; but it is confessedly difficult to get first-class artists to undertake such complicated, and to them unintelligible subjects. So that I can scarcely bring myself to reproach the authors of my numerous disappointments in this direction.

The ground plan of Dehli, which figures as the frontispiece, is itself a curious "Old Mortality" style of document, commemorative of the earliest English survey of the environs of the ancient capital of the Patháns, as we received it from the hands of the Mahrattas after Lord Lake's action in 1803. It has been reduced in photography, by Dr. Forbes Watson's establishment, from the original Survey Map now in the Mackenzie Collection in the India Office

LONDON,

February 25, 1871.

NOTE ON THE OWNERSHIP AND PRESENT DEPOSITORIES OF THE
VARIOUS COLLECTIONS OF COINS QUOTED IN THIS WORK.

1 Marsden Collection, in the British Museum, fully described in his work entitled *Numismata Orientalia* (London, 1823)

2 The collection in the India Office, many specimens of which are noticed and engraved in Professor Wilson's *Asiana Antiqua* (London, 1841)

3 My own original collection, comprising the coins figured in plates I - V of this volume, now in the British Museum A limited but select cabinet of my later acquisitions in my own possession

4 Mr Edward Clive Bayley's collection, which formed the ground work of my Supplement, printed at Dehli in 1851 In the owner's possession (In England)

5 Colonel Stacy's collection in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (In Calcutta)

6 Mr George Freeling's collection, partly in the Bodleian at Oxford, with the Bardoe Elliot bequest, and partly in the hands of his widow

7 Colonel Guthrie's collection, comprising selected specimens of the Kooch Bahar *trouvaille* (plate vi), and the choice Pathan series, so often quoted in these pages, which now embraces the accumulated treasures of General Cunningham and Major Stubbs's most successful gleanings of the last few years (In England)

8 Sir Walter Elliot has some curious specimens of the local series of the Dakhan, and Sir Bartle Frere has a large collection of Indian coins, which I have not yet had an opportunity of examining

9 There are a few Pathan coins in Russia, descriptions of which will be found in Frœbn's "*Recensio Numorum Muhammadanorum*," and M Bern's Supplement to that work Many dispersed specimens are also quoted, from continental cabinets, in the posthumous collection of M Soret's Essays

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THE PATHÁN KINGS OF DEHLI,

etc.

The history of Muhammadan nations is especially open to

The original design of the *tughrá*, or Cipher Monogram, which ornaments the cover of this volume, was cut by the Author in 1842, as a centre-piece for the panels of a Coin Cabinet. The bookbinder's reproduction in metal has failed to give effect to some of the minor details, but the initiated may still trace the name of ادورد طامس ۴۲ (Edward Thomas, 42) in the interwoven lines.

regal functions, involved in the right to coin. Among these peoples, the recitation of the public prayer in the name of the aspirant to the throne, associated with the issue of money bearing his superscription, was unhesitatingly received as the overt act of accession. Unquestionably, in the state of civilization here obtaining, the production and facile dispersion of a new royal device was singularly well adapted to make manifest to the comprehension of all classes the immediate change in the supreme ruling power. In places where men did not *print*, these stamped moneys obtruding

into every Bázár constituted the most effective manifestoes and proclamations human ingenuity could have devised readily multiplied, they were individually the easiest and most naturally transported of all official documents, the veriest *Falir*, in his semi nude costume, might carry the ostensible proof of a new dynasty into regions where even the name of the kingdom itself was unknown. In short, there was but little limit to the range of these Eastern heralds, the Numismatic Garter King-at Arms was recognized wherever Asiatic nations accepted the gold, and interpreters could be found to designate the Cæsar whose "epigraph" figured on its surface. So also on the occasion of new conquests, the reigning Sultán's titles were ostentatiously paraded on the local money, ordinarily in the language and alphabet of the indigenous races, to secure the more effective announcement of the fact that they themselves had passed under the sway of an alien Suzerain. Equally, on the other hand, does any modification of or departure from the rule of a comprehensive issue of coin imply an imperfection, relative or positive, in the acquisition of supreme power. There are but few instances of abstention from the exercise of this highly prized prerogative in the present series, but in all such cases the guiding motives are sufficiently ascertained.

The epoch which the present series of medals illustrates extends from A D 1192 to 1554, or a period of somewhat more than three centuries and a half during this interval six dynasties numbering in all forty kings, succeeded in turn to the throne of Dehli. I purposely avoid any attempt at a general definition of the boundaries of the empire, at all times uncertain in extent, varying from the extreme limits of Eastern Bengal on the one side, to Kabul and Kandahár

on the west, with Sindh and the Southern Peninsula to complete the circle; occasionally reduced to a few districts around the capital, and in one instance confined to the single spot inclosed within the walls of the metropolis itself.

The materials at present available suffice to determine, with some accuracy, the theoretical standards of the currency of the Pathán Sultáns. Some new evidence on the subject has lately come to light in the journals of Western travellers in India during the first half of the eighth century of the Hijrah, which coincides in a singular manner with the data afforded by the weights and intrinsic contents of existing coins; so that we are now in a position to maintain with confidence that the scheme of coinage, adopted by Altamsh from possibly conflicting native traditions, recognized the use of gold and silver pieces of equal weights, the metal in each case being as pure as the processes known to the home refiners permitted them to achieve. The intentional Mint standard must have ranged very closely upon the 175 'grains, Troy, which amount can be nearly told in the balance by the better specimens to be found in modern cabinets, a definite weight also, for which there was high authority in the *Śataraṭika*, or "One hundred rati," divisional term, which appears in early post-Vedic commentaries. The most important elements, however, of this adaptive Indian currency, consisted of hybrid pieces of silver and copper, combined in the proportions necessary to constitute the equivalent sub-divisions of the ruling silver *Tanlakh*, which, although it was anomalously composed of 100 Indian Ganjá seeds (*Abrus precatorius*), was never divided in practice by any other number than 64. The favourite sub-divisional current piece, in more advanced times, seems to have been

$\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{8}$, which latter denomination it preserved in the *Hasht Kanis*, or "Eight Kanis," the counterpart and correspondent of eight Jitals, 64 of which also fell into the general total of a *Tankah*. And here it would seem that more purely indigenous traditions had to be reconciled to intermediate Aryan innovations. The new *Tankah* might rule and regulate its own subdivisions, but it does not seem to have been able to emancipate itself from the old silver *Purana* of 32 Ratis of Manu's Code, which maintained its old weight of 56 grains, in independent isolation, down to the time of Muhammad bin Tughlak. So intuitive in the native mind was the idea of reckoning by fours, the 'Gundá' of the modern indigène, that gold and silver were supposed to conform to some such law, being estimated theoretically, whatever the current rate may have been at any given moment, at 1 8. So also the silver piece was divided into 8 (or primarily 8×8), and the copper exchange against silver commenced with 4 *fals* to the $\frac{1}{8}$ of a *Tankah*. The Quaternary scale, in short, was all pervading, there was no escaping the inevitable 4's, 16's, 32's, and 64's, the heritage of the masses, which, having survived alike Aryan intrusion and Muhammadan conquest, still flourish undisturbed by the presence of British decimals.

The modifications effected in the coinage by Muhammad bin Tughlak are highly instructive, and seem to determine beyond question the ratios of gold to silver obtaining at the period. Not less worthy of study is his attempt to introduce a forced currency of copper tokens. The amplification by Firuz Sháh of the divisional pieces of mixed copper and silver is also of importance, as leading up to the almost exclusive use of this species of currency under Bahlol Lodi and his son Sikandar, and, finally, in the

reforms perfected by Shír Sháh,—the production of the “Rupee” (of 178 grains), and the substitution of copper coins for the fallacious mixed-metal pieces,—may be seen the almost unchanged condition of the lower currencies of Her Majesty’s Government in India at the present day.

Amid the general series of the coins of the Dehli monarchs I have also incorporated notices of many collateral issues, more or less directly identified with their rule, such as the local moneys superseded and imitated on the immediate absorption of the kingdoms of the Hindú potentates: offshoots of the Ghazní and Dehli systems from the mints of the Muslim contemporaries of the early occupying conquerors, who held, in their own right, outlying provinces in India. And, more consecutively, reference has been made to the currencies of their fellow-warriors for the faith in Bengal, who from time to time confessed allegiance to the Sultáns of Hindústán. And, lastly, advantage has been taken of an analogous species of illustration contributed by the inscriptions recorded on the public monuments of the Imperial dynasty, which, in early days, were largely and effectively employed in the decoration of the walls and gateways of mosques, palaces, and tombs. These essentially Oriental compositions, whether as regards the ornamental form of the Arabesque, or the more stern chiselling of the Kufic letters, may freely vie with the best specimens of Saracenic art extant.

I now proceed to exhibit a complete list of the sovereigns of the Pathán dynasty, with the dates of accession of each. I must premise that I have intentionally retained the Hijrah era as the leading reference for all dates, as in many cases where the precise period in Muhammadan

months or days was uncertain, it would have been impossible to fix the corresponding epoch in the Christian era. Hence I have adopted the plan of annexing to the bare Hijrah date of the elevation of each king, the day and the year of our calendar answering to the initial day of the Hijrah year, so quoted. The note at the foot of this page,¹ giving the names and order of the Arabic months, and the rules for calculating the irregularities of the Muhammadan year, will efficiently supply the references to intermediate periods.

¹ The Hijrah era commenced on the 15th July, A.D. 622. The year is purely lunar, consisting of twelve months, each month being reckoned from the appearance of the new moon, without any intercalation. In practice, months of 30 and 29 days are made to alternate, thus completing a year of 354 days eleven times in thirty years one day is added to the last month, making 355 days in that year. So that the average length of a year is $354\frac{1}{3}$ days, a month, or $\frac{1}{12}$, being $29\frac{1}{3}$. The intercalary year of 355 days occurs on the 2nd, 5th, 7th, 10th, 13th, 15th, 18th, 21st, 24th, 26th, and 29th years of every thirty years.

THE MUHAMMADAN MONTHS ARE AS FOLLOWS —

1	مَحَرَّم Muharram,	30 days
2	صَفَر Safar,	29 „
3	رَبِيعُ الْأَوَّل Rabi'ul awwal,	30 „
4	رَبِيعُ الْآخِر Rabi'ul ákhir,	29 „
5	جُمَادَى الْأَوَّل Jumada l awwal,	30 „
6	جُمَادَى الْآخِر Jumada'l ákhir,	29 „
7	رَجَب Rajab,	30 „
8	شَعْبَان Sh abán	29 „
9	رَمَازَان Ramazan,	30 „
10	شَوَّال Shawwal,	29 „
11	ذِي الْقَعْدَةِ Zil k'adah,	30 „
12	ذِي الْحِجَّة Zil hijjah,	29 „

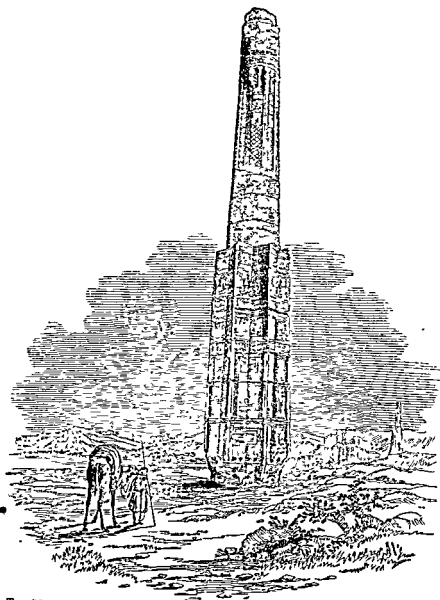
LIST OF THE PATHAN SULTANS OF HINDUSTAN

NO	DATE OF ACCESS A.D	INITIAL DATE OF THE HJRAH YEAR A.D	NAMES OF SULTANS
1	589	Jan 7, 1193	Mu'izz ud din Muhammad bin Sam (1st Dynasty)
2	602	Aug 18, 1205	Kutb ud din Aibek
3	607	June 25, 1210	Aram Shah
4	607	" "	Shams ud din Altamsh
5	633	Sept 16, 1235	Rukn ud din Firuz Shah I
6	634	Aug 14, 1236	Sultan Raziyah
7	637	" 3, 1239	Mu'izz ud din Bahram Shah
8	639	July 12, 1241	Ala ud din Mas'ud Shah
9	644	May 19, 1246	Nasir ud din Mahmud
10	664	Oct 13, 1265	Ghias ud din Balban
11	686	Feb 16, 1287	Mu'izz ud din Karkubad (Dynasty)
12	689	Jan 14, 1290	Jalal ud din Firuz Shah II <i>Khilji</i> (2nd)
13	695	Nov 10, 1295	Rukn ud din Ibrahim
14	695	" "	Ala ud din Muhammad Shah
15	715	April 7, 1315	Shahab ud din 'Umar
16	716	March 26, 1316	Kutb ud din Mubarak Shah I
17	720	Feb 12, 1320	Nasir ud din Khusru (Dynasty)
18	720	" "	Ghias ud din Tughlak Shah (3rd)
19	720	Dec 18, 1324	Muhammad bin Tughlak
20	752	Feb 28, 1351	Firuz Shah III <i>bin Salar Rajab</i>
21	790	Jan 11, 1388	Tughlak Shah II
22	791	Dec 31, 1388	Abubakar Shah
23	792	Dec 20, 1389	Muhammad Shah bin Firuz Shah
24	795	Nov 17, 1392	Sikandar Shah [(Timur, 800)]
25	795	" "	Mahmud Shah bin Muhammad Shah
26	797	Oct 27, 1394	Nusrat Shah, <i>Interregnum</i> , Mahmud restored, 802
27	815	April 13, 1412	Daulat Khan Lodi
28	817	March 23, 1414	Khizr Khan <i>Syud</i> (4th Dynasty)
29	824	Jan 6, 1421	Mu'izz ud din Mubarak Shah II
30	837	Aug 18, 1433	Muhammad Shah bin Farid Shah
31	847	May 1, 1443	'Alam Shah
32	855	Feb 3, 1451	Bahlol Lodi (5th Dynasty)
33	894	Dec 5, 1488	Sikandar bin Bahlol
34	923	Jan 24, 1517	Ibrahim bin Sikandar (Babar, 932 A.H.)
35	937	Aug 25, 1530	Muhammad Humayun, <i>Mughal</i>
36	947	May 8, 1540	Farid ud din Shir Shah, <i>Afghan</i>
37	952	March 15, 1545	Islam Shah
38	960	Dec 18, 1552	Muhammad 'Adil Shah
39	961	Dec 7, 1553	Ibrahim Sur [962 A.H.]
40	962	Nov 26, 1554	Sikandar Shah (Humayun, restored)

INTRODUCTORY LIST OF THE RULERS AND KINGS OF BENGAL

NO	DATE OF ACCESS ON A H	INITIAL DATE OF THE HJIRAH YEAR. A D	NAMES OF RULERS AND KINGS
1	600	Sept 10 1203	<i>Muhammad Bakhtiar Khilji</i>
2	602	Aug 18 1205	'Izz ud dīn Muhammad Shīrīn <i>Khilji</i>
3	605	July 16, 1208	'Ala ud dīn 'Alī Mardān, <i>Khilji</i>
4	608	June 15, 1211	Husām ud dīn 'Awz <i>Khilji</i> (<i>Sultān</i> Ghīas ud dīn)
5	624	Dec 22, 1226	Nasir ud dīn <i>Mahmūd</i> , bin <i>Sultān</i> <i>Altamsh</i> (Coin, No 60)
6	627	Nov 20, 1229	'Alā ud dīn Janī
7	"	"	Saif ud dīn Arbek, <i>Yughān Tat</i>
8	631	Oct 7, 1233	'Izz ud dīn Tughral, } <i>Rizīah</i> , 634-7 <i>Tughan Khān</i> }
9	642	June 9 1244	Kamr ud dīn <i>Tamar Khān</i> , Kīran
10	"	" "	Ikhtīār ud dīn, Yuzbeg ¹ <i>Tughral</i> <i>Khān</i>
11	656	Jan 8 1258	Jalāl ud dīn Mas'ūd <i>Mulūk Janī</i>
12	657	Dec 29, 1258	'Izz ud dīn Balbān, ² <i>U beg</i>
13	"	" "	Taj ud dīn Arslān Khān, Sanjār, <i>Khwarizm</i>
14	659	Dec 6, 1260	Muhammad Arslān Khān, <i>Tatar Khān</i>
15	676(?)		<i>Sultān Maghīs</i> ud dīn Tughral
16	681	April 11, 1282	<i>Bughra Kīdān</i> , Nāsir ud dīn <i>Mahmūd</i> , second son of <i>Sultān Balbān</i>
17	691	Dec 24 1291	Rukn ud dīn <i>Has Kīdūs</i>
18	702	Aug 26, 1302	Shams ud dīn <i>Fīruz Shāh</i> (Reigned in Lakhnautī till 722)
19	?		Shahāb ud dīn <i>Bughrah Shāh</i>
20	710	May 31, 1310	Ghīas-ud dīn <i>Bahādur Shāh</i>
21	733	Sept 22, 1332	<i>Muhammad bin Tughlak</i>
22	737	Aug 10, 1336	Fakr ud-dīn <i>Mubdral Shāh</i>
23	742	June 17, 1341	Alā ud dīn 'Alī Shāh
24	751	March 11, 1350	Ikhtīār ud dīn <i>Ghāzi Shāh</i>

^{1, 2} These contrasts in the orthography follow the Persian text of Minhāj us
S Raj who seems to have designed to mark a difference in the pronunciation, but
I should be unwilling to rely upon any such chance discriminations, in a text so
obviously at the mercy of ignorant Oriental copyists



THE MINARET OF MAS'UD III., A.H. 492-508 (A.D. 1099-1114), AT GHAZNI,¹
from a Sketch by G. J. Vigne, Esq.
Fergusson's Handbook of Architecture, vol. i. p. 415.

FIRST KING (A.H. 589-602; A.D. 1193-1205).

The man who, by the force of his own energy, or that which he imparted to his generals, was enabled to change

¹ INSCRIPTION ON THE MINARET. (From Jour. As. Soc. Bengal.)
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم امر السلطان الاعظم ملك الاسلام اعلام الملة

the destinies of India towards the close of the twelfth century A D, came of a royal house, dating from an obscure principality in the mountains south-east of Herát. The great Mahmud of Ghazni, some two centuries previously, had penetrated frequently and by varied routes into the rich plains of India, his aim, with but scant affectation of the Muslim cry of a "holy war," was in truth mere plunder, and with this he returned plentifully gratified to his northern capital.

The later scions of the dynasty of Subuktigin, driven out of Ghazni on its sack by 'Ala ud din Husain Jahánsóz in A H 550, retired to Lahor, and had already, in effect, become domesticated Indian sovereigns, so that as Mu'izz ud din pressed down and around them, the occupation of the more advanced provinces of Hindustán followed as a natural sequence. *Mu'izz-ud din* Muhammad bin Sám, or *Shahab ud-din*, as he was called in his youth, otherwise known as Muhammad Ghorí, the founder of the Pathán dynasty of Dehli, is first noticed in history on the occasion of his nomination, in conjunction with his elder brother, Ghias ud-din, to the charge of a province of Ghor, by his uncle, the notorious 'Ala ud din Husain *Jahansóz*. After the accession of Ghias ud din to the throne of Ghor, in 558 A H, Mu'izz-ud din, acting as his general, subdued portions of Khorásán, and, on the conquest of Ghazni, in 569, he was nominated

و الدولة أبو سعد مسعود بن طغر الدولة المحمودية أبو إبراهيم نصر
الدين أمير المؤمنين الملكة أمس الملة مالك رباب الأمم سلطان
المكرم الحاقان مولی ملوك العرب والعجم حلد الله تعالى ملكه وسلطانه
واقاص على العلمس نره واحسانه عفر الله له ولوالديه ولجميع المسلمين

by his Suzerain brother to the government of that country. From this time his incursions into India commenced. In 571 he conquered Multán, in 574 he experienced a sanguinary defeat in an expedition against the prince of Nahrwála, next, Khusru Malik, the last of the Ghaznavis, was assailed, and at length, in 582, captured by stratagem. In 587, in a more extended expedition into Hindustán, Muhammad Ghorí was totally routed on the memorable field of Thaneshwar by the Chohán leader, Prithví Rája of Ajmir. After a year's repose the disgrace of this defeat still ranking within him, he on the self same battle ground again encountered his former adversary, now supported by the whole force of the country, the confederated armies of one hundred and fifty princes. This time fortune favoured the Ghoris, and a hard-fought field terminated in the total discomfiture of the Indian host. By this single victory the Muhammadans may be said to have become the virtual masters of Hindustán. The ulterior measures for the subjugation of the country were of speedy accomplishment, and most of the later additions to the Indian empire of Muhammad Ghorí were perfected by his quondam slave, subsequent representative in Hindustán, and eventual successor on the throne of Dehli, Kutb ud din Arbek. Ghias ud din, who had long retained little beyond the title of a king, died in 599 A H, and shortly afterwards Mu'izz ud din was installed in form. An unsuccessful attempt at conquest in the north, in itself attended by most disastrous results, was succeeded by the revolt of the governors of Ghazni and Multán. This outbreak however, was soon suppressed. In the month of Sh'abán, A H 602,¹ Muham

سوم و ستره شعبان سال ششصد و دو هجری در دره سرس بمیرل دمیک

And the *Ma* of Damik became a proverb in the land.—*Tabakát i Násiri*
p 104

that is extended to the conqueror of India It will be observed from the coins which follow that, on the death of his brother, Mu'izz ud-din himself adopted the superlative **الاعظم**

3a Silver Weight 133 grs Similar coin Col Guthrie

No 4 (No 3 Plate I)

Silver Weight 59.4 grs Square areas A H 598 Col Guthrie

Reverse

Obverse

لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
الناصر لدين الله
امير المؤمنين

السلطان الاعظم
معر الدنيا
الدين ابوالمظفر
محمد بن سام

Margins illegible

The above coins are in effect merely introductory to the Dehli series proper, emanating from the Imperial mint of the first occupying Muhammadan conqueror of India, they in some degree formed the models upon which the phraseology of the legends of the new currency was based, though, it will be seen, that they in no degree affected the system of weights or values obtaining in the northern provinces of India. Indeed, the old issues of "Dehliwálas" composed of a mixture of copper and silver, retained their place throughout the land, and were imitated and adopted with altered legends, by Altamsh and his feudatories Kubáchah of Sind, and others, and it is not until the year 630 A H that any silver pieces of the new empire make their appearance (No 28 *infra*), and then their standard of weight equally follows the Indian system

No 5 (No 4, Plate I)

Mixed silver and copper 49 grs Rare (Sind Mint)

Obv — السلطان الاعظم محمد بن سام

Rev — Horseman in outline (conventionally styled *Tughra* (تعری), with the *Hindi* legend श्री हमीर. *Sri Hammirah*

No 6 (No 5, Plate I)

Mixed silver and copper Weight, 49 grs Rare

Obv — Same as No 5

Rev — Rude figure of a cavalier, with lance at the charge

No 7 (No 6, Plate I)

Silver (impure) 46 grs (Ghor Mint?)

Obv — السلطان الاعظم ابوالمظفر محمد بن سام

Rev — Rude representation of a horseman, with lance at the charge, but the contrast is marked in the adherence to the statuesque as opposed to the interlaced combination of letters and material forms affected in Muhammadan *Tughra*

No 8 (No 7, Plate I)

Silver and copper (Lahor Mint?)

Obv — السلطان المعظم معز الدین و الدین

Rev — محمد بن سام *

No 9 (No 8, Plate I)

Silver and copper 46 grs (Lahor Mint)

Obv — السلطان المعظم معز الدین و الدین

Rev — ابوالمظفر محمد بن سام

No 10 (No 9, Plate I)

Silver and copper 49 grs (Dehli Mint)

Obv — श्री महमद सामे *Sri Mahamad Sāme*

Rev — श्री हमीर. *Sri Hammirah*

No 11 Silver and copper Weight, 48 grs (Sind Mint) Similar *Hindi* legends, both obverse and reverse, to No 10 The device of the Horseman follows the same tracings as the figure on No 5, and the forms of the letters are nearly identical, approximating closely to the style in use on the coins of Kubachah

No 12 Silver and copper Weight, 45 grs New type E I
Collection (Peshawar Mint)

Obv — Bull in Tughra, greatly distorted

द सामे *Mahamad Same*

Rev — Horseman, well defined Similar in design to No 4,
Plate I

Legend — सी हमीर *Sri Hammirah*

In a line with the spear, reading upwards, under the horse, in delicate Persian letters, is to be seen the word *پرشور* *Parshôr* (Peshawar) On the horse's quarter may be read the letters *حلا جلد* *Jald*¹ (See Prinsep's Essays, pl xxv fig 20)

No 13 (No 10, Plate I)

Silver and copper 46 grs (Gwahar Mint)

Obv — महमद सामि *Mahamad Sami*

Rev — Figure of the Horseman greatly debased No legend*

No 14 Silver and copper Weight, 38 grs My cabinet

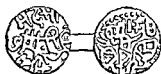
Obv — * * الاعظم معرالدین محمد بن سام

Rev — A rude figure of a horse

Similar to those depicted in Prinsep's Essays, pl xxv figs 8-13, *Amara Antiqua*, pl xix fig 14, and pl xx fig 6

¹ The reading of *Parshôr* is confirmed by later specimens from the mints of *Alâ ud din Muhammad, Khacdrî mî* who was critical in his geography, inserting the names of his mints in all sorts of odd corners wherever space was to be found in the general design for instance *Pan id* on a line with the spear, *Karman* (imitating *Ilduz*) on the side of the Bull, and *پرشور* in the same place — *Journ R.A.S.* xii. pp 205, 206 See also Elliot's *Historians*, i. 47, and ii. 397

I do not propose to review in any detail the general series of Muhammad Ghori's Indian coinages, but there is a single specimen which I am anxious to notice on account of the unusual, indeed unique, nature of its legends, though I have frankly to confess that the imperfect and obscured reverse epigraph, in which is involved the whole question of novelty, leaves a doubt as to the finality of any opinion that may now be pronounced.¹ The appearance of the joint names of Muhammad bin Sâm and Prithví Râja on one and the same coin is certainly startling, but there is nothing in the fact that need militate against local probabilities. We find that "the son of Rai Pitàura, who had been advanced under the protection of the sublime court," was left in charge of Ajmír,² in which case a numismatic confession of fealty would be quite appropriate, or this coinage may even have been struck in his name, under authority at head-quarters, for special circulation in his government. Indeed, this particular piece has, in effect, more the appearance of Dehli Mint art than of Ajmír manipulation. Many other explanations of the association might be given, but that it is useless to enlarge upon such imperfect data; and I only publish this curious piece that attention may be drawn to the possible existence of similar specimens in other imperfectly examined collections.



¹ General Cunningham has also examined this coin at my request, and, while expressing surprise at the combination of names, does not at all contest the obvious reading of the letters still visible on the coin.

² *Tâj-ul-Maâsar*, Elliot's *Historians*, ii. pp. 216, 219, 220, 226. Tod, ii. 451.

No 15 Silver and Copper Weight, 36 grs (My cabinet) Unique

Horseman

—पृथ्वी—

Prithvī

Bull

स्त्री महमद साम

Sri Mahamad Sam

The Indian coinages of Muhammad bin Sām were, as may be seen, avowedly adaptive, and introductory to the more fixed and systematized mintages of his successors. One of these assimilated issues of unusual historical interest consists of the Gold Money put forth, in close mechanical identity of metal, symbols and style of writing, in the name of the Muslim conqueror, immediately on the fall of Jai Chand the last of the Rahtors of Kanauj¹ in A D 1194. A suggestive fact connected with this attempt to maintain the supply of the local currency, and simultaneously to proclaim the victor's success, a convenient measure for utilizing plunder rather affected under the Sword of Islām is that so many of these pieces found their way to the home of the invaders, and so few remained to aid the commerce of the indigenes².

The intermediate coin (No 17) of Prithvī (Varmma) Deva, a contemporary of Govinda's (No 16), indicates that much of the dominion of the Rahtors had already passed away from them, though the successful Chandel and his adversary were both destined shortly to fall before the assaults of an alien race.

¹ He is called Jai Chand of Benares by the *Tāj ul Ma'āsir* — Elliot, II 223 300. So also Minháç p 140 text. The Bard Chand also mentions that the Raja of Kāsi was a feudatory of Kanauj (Tod II 456). The Rahtor capital was latterly removed to Bari, east of the Ganges.

² Only one of these coins of Muhammad bin Sām seems to have fallen to the share of James Prinsep's numerous contributors (Essays I 289) who found the older issues common enough. The twenty or so specimens of the conqueror's coinage now noted seem all to have been obtained by Masson in Afghanistan.

The modifications the name and titles of Muhammad bin Sám undergo in the contrasted specimens are curious, and may be supposed to indicate the several stages of recent victory,¹ and more fixed occupation and administration of the kingdom by his officials.

KANAUJ COINS.

Govinda Chandra, A.D. 1120-1144.²

No. 16. Gold. (Prinsep, pl. xxiv. fig. 2; *Ariana Antiqua*, xx. 22; and H. H. Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, xviii.)

Obverse—The Goddess *Lakshmi* seated. The figure holding the cornucopia is imitated from the earliest types of the Gupta coinage (Prinsep's *Essays*, Pl. xxiii. 18, 19, etc.).

Reverse—Legend in three lines—

श्री मन्त्रोविन्द चन्द्रदेव ॥

Srī mañ Govinda Chandra Deva.

Prithví (Varmma) Deva Cháñdel Rája of Mahoba, etc.³ (A.D. 1125-1130).

No. 17. Gold. (Prinsep's *Essays*, i. 292.) Common.

Obverse as usual.

Reverse—

श्री मत्पृथ्वी देव

Srī Mat Prithví Deva.

¹ The *Táj-ul-Maísir* has a record of this mintage, "and the face of the *dirár* and the *diram* was adorned with the name and titles" of the king.—Elliot, ii. 223.

² Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 258.

³ See Gen. Cunningham's *List*, quoted below, p. 65.

العرب والعجم سلطان السلاطين في العالم عاين الدنيا والدين مع
 الاسلام والمسلمين محي العدل في العالمين علا الدولة القاهرة ولك
 الملة الطاهرة حلال الامة القاهرة شهاب الخلافة ناسط الاحسان و
 الرفة في الثعلين طل الله في الحافقن الحامي لبلاد الله الراعي لعباد
 الله محرر ممالك الدنيا ومطر كلمة الله العليا ابو المطر محمد بن
 سام قسيم امير المومنين حلد الله ملكه

- B The second band or belt of Inscriptions (counting from the basement upwards) is also filled in with a nearly similar enumeration of the titles of Muhammad bin Sâm, concluding, however, with the hitherto novel designation of *سكدر الثاني*.

Inscriptions of *Kutb ud-din Aibeg*.

- C The second line of the Inscription under the arch of the eastern entrance to the Kutb Mosque, at Dehli, dated $\text{A H } 587^1 = 1191 \text{ A.D}$
 اين حصار را فتح كرد و اين مسجد جامع را به ساحت نتاريخ في
 شور سه ساع و ثمانين و خمسمائة امير اسفيسالار اجل كسر قطب

¹ General Cunningham, on his last visit to Dehli in 1862, critically examined this inscription with a binocular, and was inclined to think that Syud Ahmad had been in error in reading this date as 587 instead of 589 (Arch. Report, p. 28). As I have, I believe, succeeded in satisfying General Cunningham that 587 is the correct *sculptured* date, I should not have entered further into the question, were it not for the historical importance of the numbers in question. I stated with some confidence in my edition of Prinsep's *Essays* (Vol. 1, p. 326) that the true date in this epigraph was 587 A.H., and my justification for so positive an assertion was that I had, in January, 1855 very carefully studied the original, even to the extent of assuring myself of the bearing of every line and letter, by means of a scaffolding erected for the purpose, which was necessary, as the inscription was high up, and, moreover, obscured ordinarily by the arch under and within which it was placed. In this examination I took eye tracings and paper impressions

الدوله و الدين امير الامرا اي نك سلطاني اغزالله اصاره و بيست و
 همت آلت نخانه كي [sic] در هر نخانه دوبار هرار بار هرار دلول
 صرف شده بود درين مسجد نگارسته شده است

{ continuation in the }
 { corner department }
 حداثى عزوجل بران بده رحمت كان هر كه بر
 نيت ناي حيرت ايمان كوید

of all such parts as presented any difficulties, and this enabled me to correct, without hesitation, Syud Ahmad's reading of

“حمت الله نخانه مركى در هر نخانه دو يا هزار”

into the text given above—but the date was to my apprehension so obvious, that I did not either copy or take a rubbing of the words. However, to set the question definitely at rest, I have now sent out to Dehli, and have had the doubtful passage examined anew by a most competent authority, and the reply received is that there is *no doubt* that the unit is **سبع** and not **تسع**, the points are of but little consequence, the position of the elongated up stroke settles the question, in these cases, and as for the “two dots,” even supposing them to exist, the dots are so scattered at hazard in these legends that but little reliance could be placed upon their referring more directly to **تسع** than to the penultimate letter of **ثمان**, which is immediately over it. Ibn Batutah, during his residence at the Court of Dehli (A H 734-743), read the date on the original monument as 584 A H (French edition, III. pp 146, 161), but the mistake of substituting **اربع** *four* for **سبع** *seven*, in the decipherment of the intertwined *tughra* writing, would readily occur, even if the error is not due to the still more probable source of the careless copying of his autograph MS.

As regards the historical evidence to the date of 587 A H for the capture of Dehli by the Muslims, it is complete and consistent in the best authorities, Hasan Aizami, a so to say contemporary, places the event in 587 (Elliot, II p 216), and Minháj us Siráj repeats in various forms, while treating of the life of Aibeg, the confirmation of the same date (Elliot II p 300, Calcutta text, pp 139, and at p 141, in noticing Kuth ud din's death in 607 A H, it expressly adds, “from the first conquest of Dehli (اراول فتح دهلي) to this time 20 years”). The discrepancy which it has been attempted clumsily to correct in some versions of the Persian text seems to have arisen out of the faulty narrative of the life of Mu'izz ud din himself (Calcutta text, p 120 and note, p 139).

D Inscription over the northern entrance to the Mosque, dated
A.H. 592=1195-6 A.D.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم بدعو الى دارالسلام وبيدى من يشاء الى
صراط المستقيم (Kurán, x. 26) في شهر سنة اثنى وتسعين حرت هذه
العمارة بعالي امر السلطان المعظم معز الدنيا والدين محمد بن سام
باصر امير المؤمنين

E Date on the Centre Gateway of the Mosque, A.H. 594=A.D. 1197-8.
تاريخ العشرين من ذي القعدة سنة اربع وتسعين وخمس مائه

I consider that all these inscriptions were executed under the direct auspices of Kutb-ud-dín Aibeg, though he emblazons his own name and title in a single and special instance. There is a further record of his active participation in the erection of these buildings on the defaced lower band of the Minár, immediately over the foundation course, where his recognized titles of *الاسفيسار الاجل* are still legible. I may remark, incidentally, with reference to the much-debated question, as to the assumed Hindú origin of the secondary adaptation to the Muhammadans of the partially prepared Kutb inscription, that General Cunningham's arguments, tending to prove the independent inception of the design by Kutb-ud-dín Aibeg are to my mind conclusive,² and this determination asserts itself altogether apart from the internal evidence of the inscriptions themselves; for, by

importance of
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this was 587 A.H., and my
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scaffolding erected for the purpose, wh.
high up, and, moreover, obscured ordinarily
it was placed. In this examination I took³ pp 29, 30, 31.

purity of reasoning—if the Minar had been a mere adaptation of Rai Pithora's one storied building—would not a similar boast have decorated its largely sculptured walls to that so triumphantly engraved on the mosque of the same period, where the "twenty-seven Idol temples," the very pillars of which are seen in their varied ornamentation around the square of the court-yard, are monumentally recorded as having contributed to the erection of the dominating religious edifice of the Conqueror's faith?

The celebrated mosque at Ajmir, which, like the edifice at the Kutb, was avowedly built of the materials contributed by the local idol temples,¹ also bears an epigraph dated during the reign of Mu'izz ud dīn Muhammad bin Sam. Colonel Lees has propounded a translation² of this inscription, to the following effect —

"(This Masjid was built) during the guardianship of Akbar, the son of Ahmad (by the help of God), the creator, the everlasting, in the month of Zī Hijjah, five hundred and ninety six"—General Cunningham, *Archæological Report*, 1864 5, p. 9

Taj ud din Ilduz

Closely connected with the imperial coinages of Mu'izz-ud dīn Muhammad bin Sam are the pieces struck by his Lieutenant *Ilduz*,³ comprehending the various series in copper, silver, or gold, modified in their legends from time to time according to the relative positions of the master and the trusted slave, who had so won upon his lord's favour that the latter, before his death, had designed to

¹ At Ajmir the Sultān "destroyed the pillars and foundations of the idol temples and built in their stead mosques and colleges — *Tāj ul Maasir* Ell ot, ii 215

² The text is not appended.

³ Properly *یلدر yildr*, a star. Elphinstone has 'Eldōz

appoint him his successor in Ghazní¹ The earliest coins bearing the name of Ilduz, are those apparently struck at his original seat of government, *Karmán*, a most important and vital position on the main line of communication between Ghazní and the Indus, on the Bungush route² On

¹ Minháj us Siráj says the Sultán gave him a *شاهه ساهه* "a black ensign," and *در حاطرش آن بود كه ولی عبد عرس بعد از سلطان او باشد*
T N Calcutta Text, 133 etc *چون سلطان عاری شاد است یامت*

² The approximate position of this place is Lat 33° 40', Long 70° 20' A village of the name still exists to mark the ancient site Ibn Athir refers to it as *وشگابا قوم يقال لم ابعان*, *كرمان مدینه بس عربه و لاوور* Other notices are to be found in Yákut's *Mushtarik*, *sub voce*, Elphinstone's *Cabool*, i. 420, ii. 421 (362) H T Prinsep *Journ. As Soc Bengal*, xi. 553, Báber's *Memoirs*, pp 150-158, Briggs's *Ferishtah*, i. 200, Price, *Muhammadian Hist.* ii. 309, Maason, *Baluchistán*, etc i. 114, Woods's *Oxus*, 161, Elliot's *Historians*, ii. 221, 551

Our knowledge of the geography of this part of the country has been largely increased of late by Major Lumsden's "Mission to Kandahár" (in 1858) His party pursued the direct route from Kohát towards Ghazní as far as Piwar But little information is given in the report with regard to the particular place now called "Kirmán, which appears to be situated off the main line of communication, in a long *darrakh* or glen, extending for 15 miles to the W N W between two bold spurs parallel to the general run of the "*Safid Koh* range" The true dominating position of the *key* of India seems to have been the fort of *Kurram*, *Koorum*, or *Kurum*, as it is variously written, or *Kürm*, as it is pronounced, and here arises a minor question of orthography, and a doubt whether, amid all these various renderings of the name from oral data, the correct etymology is not to be found in the extant "*Kurram* and the plural *Kurramda* [كرمان] with the double Pushtú *r*, as the term for the whole division, instead of the "*Kirmán*, which is occasionally made use of We have the generic *Kurram* river for the main stream, and "a tributary known as the *Kurramana*, from the Arakzaí mountain (p 50), also the district "*Kurram* *Ilhas*" The omission of the short vowels in Semitic writing and the imperfection of the system of duplicating consonants, has always caused an uncertainty in the definition of geographical terms, but all the materials in

these moneys he styles himself simply **عبد يلدز**.¹ On his subsequent issues, when in charge of the metropolis of Ghazni, he accommodates his titles to **عبد و مولاتاج الدنيا والدين يلدز السلطاني**

the present case go to prove that the surviving local pronunciation should rule in determining the question. On the other hand, the name of the Persian province of *Kirmān*, under which general denominational head this place is classed by the Arab geographers, is itself unsettled and indeterminate, the **کرمی** *Krīmī* "a worm," of the Sanskrit interpreters, is altogether against the Greek *Kapuvana*, or the Latin *Carmania*, moreover, our latest commentators on the Arabic form of **کرمان** cannot pronounce decisively whether it should be transliterated as *Kerman* or *Kirman* (*Dict. Geogr. de la Perse* C B de Maynard Paris, 1861). The Pehlvi orthography of the official Sassanian coins is **کرمان** where the simple absence of the expressed *e* presupposes the short *a*. The fort of *Kurram*, situated in about 30° 50'—70° 10', some 118 miles by road from Kohāt (p 61), standing at an estimated height of 6,000 feet above the sea, is described by Major Lumsden "as the residence of the local governor. It is a square mud enclosure, with faces about 100 yards long, having *burjes*, or round towers, at the angles and in the centre of each face. There is but one gateway, towards the west, and around the interior of the walls are built quarters for the garrison and a bāzār, while a second square, with faces parallel to those of the exterior work, forms a citadel, containing the magazines and the quarters of the commandant, a covered way, and ditch which can be made wet or dry at pleasure, runs all round the works, the latter is crossed by a drawbridge, . . . the thickness of the walls is not such as to resist artillery, although ample to present an insurmountable obstacle to any ordinary irregular Affghān force" (p 61). The direct route to Kurmān from Ghazni is variously stated by the Medieval Geographers at three or four days march. We have no account of the intermediate stages, or the nature of the passes, but, even assuming it at four days journey, the marching must have been good. Lumsden's map would make the distance, as the crow flies about 82 miles.

¹ J.R.A.S. ix. 330, No 9 (with the *Karmān* Bull reverse). A binominal coin, without the usual figured device, with ornamental Kufic letters (*Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xx fig 18), shows an advance upon this unpretentious legend to **عبد الملك المظم تاج الدنيا**. Similar titles, but omitting the preliminary **عبد**, and in his own sole name, may be seen in No 8, J.R.A.S. ix 380. These last coins have the Horseman reverse.

but in either case reserving the place of honour for his sovereign's laudatory designations (No 23). There are several varieties of these mintages,¹ but the most interesting phase in the history of these viceregal issues, is the production of honorary posthumous *medals* (for such their unusual weight implies them to be), in the sole name of the "Martyred" Monarch some considerable interval after his death (Nos 20 and 21)² followed by Ilduz's first advance towards virtual independence, still associated with the recognition of the السلطان الشهيد, the *Martyred Sultan*, but marked by the assumption, in his own right, of the titles of السلطان المعظم, 'سلطان الشرق', 'The great Sultán, Sultán of the East' (No 23). But the more direct bearing of the monetary arrangements of Ilduz upon the Dehli series with which we are chiefly concerned commences when, having been driven out of Ghazni by 'Alá ud din Muhammad Khwárazm Shah, and attempting to establish himself on Indian soil, he fell readily into the manners and customs of the country, and coined *Dehli-cálas*, both in metallic alloy and typical design, assimilated to the prevailing local currencies of mixed silver and copper, whose singular comprehensive range is even now but imperfectly determined. The legends on this particular class of money, though frequently published, have as yet been only imperfectly interpreted³. They may, however, be safely transcribed as now printed (under No 24).

¹ J.R.A.S. ix p 39 gold, No 5 xvii. p 197 silver No 42

² The western tradition speaks of a reserve on the part of the *Ulamd*, to recognize a slave king but home testimony disposes of this fiction in the affirmation of the immediate manumission and recognition of Ilduz by Mahmud, the head of the family and direct heir of Muhammad bin Sâm (T. A. p 134)

³ Professor Wilson suggested the reading of 'Bulbul, A.A., p 433 but the tenor of the legend and the mere use of *Abul Fath*, the special attribute of

No. 20. Gold. Weight, 320 grs. Size 10. Unique in this *medal* form. B.M. Ghazni, A.H. 603.



لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
الناصر لدين الله
امير المؤمنين

Margin, ضرب هذا الدينار ببلدة
غزنة في شهر رسته ثاث وستمائة

السلطان الاعظم
معز الدين بن
الدين ابو المظفر
محمد بن سام

Margin—in four divisions—
containing portions of Surah
lxi. 9. Kurán.

No. 21. Gold. Weight, 96 grs. Size 7. Ordinary current form of coin, but with identical legends. B.M. Ghazni, A.H. 603. J.R.A.S. xvii. 196.

No. 21a (No. 4, p. 14). Silver coins similar to No. 3, pl. i., dated A.H. 604 A.H. Col. Guthrie.

the elder Muhammad bin Sam, would alone determine the association of the coins with the Ghorí series; the final ز of *يلدز* which is frequently omitted, and ordinarily distorted even when defined, is quite obvious on some of the more perfect coins in the British Museum.

No 22 Gold Weight 61 grs Unique E I Collection
Ghazni, A H ?

Central Area

Full Surface

السلطان

الشهد محمد

بن سام

Margin, هذا بلد ع

شور سه

السلطان المعظم

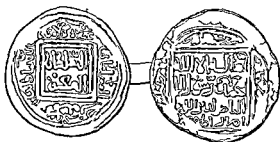
سلطان الشرق ناح

الدينا والدن

يلدر

Abu Rihán, in his *Kanun*, specially designates Ghazni as
عرس دار ملك الشرق

No 23 Silver Weight, 108.5 grs Ghazni, A H 610
Col Guthrie



Small square area with a broad margin



Margin—سند و مولانا ناح الدينا و

الدين يلدن السلطاني

لا اله الا الله

محمد رسول الله

الناصر لدين الله

امير المؤمنين

صرب هذا الدرهم (بلدة عربه في

شور سه عشر و سماية)

No. 24. Silver and Copper Weight, 55 grs.

The Chohán Horseman in outline, with Ilduz's *special* symbol, "a star," below the horse.

Legend सीहमौरः

السلطان
المعظم
ابوالفتح يلدز
السلطان

For engravings, see Prinsep's *Essays*, xxvi. 45, and *Ariana Antiqua*, xx. 9.

Before taking leave of the Ghori connexion with India, it is as well to complete the series by a casual notice of the coins of Mahmúd bin *Ghiyas-ud-din* Muhammad bin Sám, who succeeded on his father's death (in A.H. 599), under the appointment of his uncle, Mu'izz-ud-dín, to the charge of the provinces of Bast, Furráh, and Isfarar. On the great Sultán's assassination in A.H. 602, Mahmúd became the virtual head of the house, and nominally supreme over all the whole array of family slaves, many of whom had now become most powerful and effectively independent rulers in the various sections of the empire.

The general type of execution of these pieces, their die sequence following the coins of Mu'izz-ud-dín (No. 5, *ante*), and the Hindí legends, alike confine them to Indian soil, though it is difficult to fix them to any special locality. The letters of the Sanskrit title follow the models of the Sindí or Punjábí alphabets in the reversal of the lower limb of the ह and the open top of the म. But whether these coins were issued by Ilduz, or by local governors opposed to his pretensions on Muhammad Ghori's death, or even, as is not impossible, minted by Kutb-ud-dín himself, in the outlying districts of Láhor, it would be premature at present to attempt to decide.

No 25. Silver and Copper. Weight, 48 grs
Types nearly identical with those of No. 4, pl. i

The Chohán

السلطان

Horseman

الاعظم

Legend—सो हंमीरः

محمود بن محمد

بن سام

Traces of a dotted outer margin, peculiar to the Lāhor coins, are visible on the better specimens. For an engraving of a coin of Mahmūd, see J R A S ix p. 177. (See also J R A S. xvii p 198)

SECOND KING (A.H. 602-607; A.D. 1206-1210.)¹

The narrative of the life of Kutb-ud-dīn has a more important bearing on the traditional history of India, during the time he continued to act in the capacity of General of Muhammad bin Sām, in the preliminary conquest of the land, than attaches to his career after he had attained the honours of kingship. From his actual accession, in 602 A.H., till his death, in 607, with the exception of his momentary conquest of Ghaznī from Ilduz, but little worthy of note occurred; and the eastern section of the empire remained much in the state,

¹ The exact orthography of the name has, up to this time, remained an open question. Minhāj says—*داشت ندان*—p 133. This passage has been so mutilated in Ferishta's text as to make it appear that he was called by "the name of Eibuk, from having his little finger broken" (Briggs, i p 190, see also Elliot's Historians, ii. p 299, and Col N Lees, J R A S vol. iii NS p 430), whereas it is clear from the passage now given that the *شل* *Shal*, "disjointed," "maimed," is the epithet, and *Al beg* the real name, derived from the Tūrki *آی* "the moon," and *بگ* "Lord." Modern Turkish *بیگ* *Begh*.

to which he himself may be said to have brought it, prior to his investiture with the emblems of regal dignity by Mahmúd, the nephew and hereditary successor of Muhammad Ghori.

As I am anxious to compress these preliminary notices of the lives and fortunes of the different monarchs, I append in a tabulated form a concise outline of the more prominent events in which Kutb-ud-dín was concerned, derived chiefly from the Persian text of the work of Miháj-us Siráj, a contemporary historian:—

Appointed to Government of Kohráam (pp. 120, 139)

A.H. 587. Captures Mírat and Dehli. (A.H. 588, the overthrow of Prítvi Rája by Muhammad Ghori.)

„ 589. „ Koel. (A.H. 590. The Sultán defeats Jaichand of Benares and Kanauj.)

„ 590. „ Tangar (Biána).

„ 593. Expedition against Bhíma deva of Nahrwála.

• (Muhammad Bakhtíar Khiljí operates against Behár and Bengal under the auspices of Kutb-ud-dín (pp. 140, 151).

„ 599. Capture of Kálinjar (Táj al Maásir).

„ 602. Proceeds from Dehli to Láhor (in Zil Ka'dah assumes the title of Sultán in form). Contest with Táj-ud-dín Ilduz, and capture of Ghazní, from which he retreats after 40 days' occupation (pp. 140, 134–5).

„ 607. Killed by a fall from his horse, at Láhor (Táj ul Maásir).

Kutb-ud-dín, while acting as Viceroy for Muhammad-bin-Sám, naturally issued the money of his government in the name of his master. No. 10 of this series bears signs of being the produce of the Dehli mint, and probably represents the ordinary coins produced under his auspices. The oriental reverence attaching to the right to coin militates at first sight against any inference that Aibek struck no money bearing his own superscription; at the same time, it is possible that his experience in the realities of kingly power,

before he arrived at the nominal rank of an independent sovereign, may have rendered him careless of the mere outward forms of royalty; among which last might well be classed an issue of coin, for the sole purpose of proving the existence of the power of coining.¹

But many other reasons present themselves to account for what is, up to this time, only negative evidence of such abstention, i.e. the absence of any single piece, in the now ample modern collections, bearing his name and title. That he was not averse within safe limits to glorify himself, the Delhi Monumental Inscriptions have already shown; that, Vassal as he was, a quasi vassalage was exacted from a fellow general in Bengal, is equally obvious². But it is evident that a stray and subdued boast on an isolated building in distant Delhi, or an unwritten claim to allegiance from a still more distantly detached commander, whose first equipment was clearly due to his organization, were far less hazardous proceedings than the easily proven treason of coining money in his own name, specimens of which, carrying his obvious condemnation, might have reached his royal master by the very speedy transport of Indian runners³. When he himself at last ascended the

¹ The coin attributed by Marsden to this king is from the mint of Kutb-ud-din Mubarak.

² *Tabakat i-Nâsiri*, p. 147, *Tāj ul Maâsir*, in Elliot's *Historians*, ii pp. 332, 366. Some vague rumours of Aibek's want of faith in respect to his full allegiance to his master, seem to crop up, incidentally, in the local traditions which reached Ibn Batutah in his journeys in the land at so long an interval after the incidents involved (ii. 163).

³ In Persian history, during the Sassanian period, we have a curious example of what coins could do, where it was desired falsely to prove an act of rebellion—nothing more was necessary than to stamp coin in the name of the suspected party.

The origin of this incident was as follows.—Bahram Chobin, the general of Hormazd, the son of Naushirwân the Great, of Persia, after defeating the Turks, under Sâbah and his son, near Balkh, sent a portion (one fifth) of the immense

throne at Lāhor, his circumstances do not seem to have been very prosperous; all the available wealth of India had already been concentrated at Ghazni,¹ and he himself was possessed of an exaggerated propensity to Eastern munificence, which earned for him the titles of *Lak Bakhsh*, "giver of Laks,"²

booty obtained on the occasion to the king, his master, in whose mind doubts were created by hostile counsellors as to the good faith of Bahrām in the matter, and harsh measures were contemplated against him, accordingly, to meet this movement, he adopted the expedient of coining money in his distant camp, bearing the name of the king's son and heir, Khusrū Parrīz, who had himself no thoughts of rebellion. These pieces he forwarded in large sums to Madain, and other sections of the empire, a demonstration which directly led to suspicion in the father's mind, followed very naturally by the flight of the compromised Khusrū from the capital into Azarbaijān, and ultimately resulting, after certain intermediate phases, in the absolute dethronement of the reigning monarch.

Tabari's account of the details is as follows —Bahrām Chobin—

فرمود تا صد هزار درهم و دیار سکه نو سام خسرو پویز برد و به
 ناررگانان داد تا بمداین بردند و بدان احساس خریدند چون درم و
 دیار در دست مردم پراگنده شد حسر بفرمود رسید بر پرویز خشم
 گرفت و گفت نزدگی من در ملک طمع کرده و چون ولی عهد
 بودی چندان صبر نداشتی که من بگذرم و بونت نتو رسد و شرام
 فرستادی تا سکه سام تو کرد

MS Asiatic Society, Bengal. This is not a very first class text, but it is sufficiently intelligible. See also De Sacy, *Mém. Sur Div. Antiquités de la Perse*, 895, Masaudi, French Edition, II 214

۲ ار حواهر در حریره عرس اریک جنس الماس که نفیس ترین
 حوهرها است یک هزار پانصد من موجود است دیگر حواهر و
 نفودرا برین قناس می ناید کرد p 125

See also Briggs' *Ferishtah*, I. p 187.

۳ محشش او همه لک لک و کشتش او همه لک لک

Tabakāt : Nāsiri, Calcutta text, pp 138, 149, 166

and *Hatim Sanī*, "a second *Hatim Tai*," which was anything but calculated to leave him an overflowing treasury

I revert to Muhammad bin Sam's coinages in order to notice his more peculiarly Indian issues, with reference to their bearing upon the present inquiry. His conquests, it may be remarked, were always associated with an adaptation more or less complete, of the local currency, hence we find the peculiar type of the *Ghorī* Horseman retained in its own locality,¹ the distinctive *Kurmān* outline of the Bull of Siva maintains its identity through succeeding foreign dynasties,² the *Lāhor* mintages of Khusru Malik had already lost their typical emblems, and subsided into the use of simple literal legends in the Persian character,³ but Ajmir, Dehli, Multān, and Sind each preserved, but little modified a *Tughra* outline of the early device of the first Brahman kings of Kabul,⁴—the Cavalier with the reverse of the *Sacred Bull* a type which survived in full distinctness at Bamiān to the days of Alā ud dīn Muhammad Khwārizmī, and in the Horseman obverse descended to Jelāl-ud-dīn, only to disappear under his Moghul conquerors⁵. The Indian currencies of the four localities above mentioned varied less in the typical details than in the forms of the alphabet ruling in

¹ No 6 pl 1 also J R A S xvii pp 198 205

² The *Kurmān* Bull was peculiar instead of the recumbent posture of the prototype it is represented as standing up the legs having a very wooden appearance. The word *کرمāن* *Kurman* is occasionally introduced on the side of the animal. J R A S xv 205

³ Khusrū Shāh (A H 547 555) is the last king who uses the recumbent Bull on the *Lāhor* coinage J R A S vol ix pl. iii No 153—Khusrū Malik's coins may be seen in *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xx fig 16 and J R A S ix pp 373-4

⁴ J R A S ix, p 177 Prinsep's *Essays*, pl xxv vol 1 p 299, *Ariana Ant.* pl xix figs 1 14

⁵ J R A S ix plate p 177, No 23 and pp 381-2 J R A S xvii p 203 fig 10 illustrative plate

each division of the country, and the care and artistic effect of the die execution.

I do not propose to follow these peculiarities in any detail, but I wish to bring prominently to notice that up to the date of the death of Muhammad bin Sám (in A.H. 602) this *Dehli-icál* or *Chital* currency sufficed for all the wants of the Indian population, and that, as far as can be discovered, no money in gold or silver was coined in the newly conquered provinces, with the exception of the equally imitative and ephemeral sequence of Kanauj gold. This circumstance directly brings us again to confront the question as to whether Kutb-ud-dín Aibek really issued coin in his own name? or if he contented himself with the ample circulating media he had already, as local governor, put forth in the name of his Suzerain? Kutb-ud-dín, as has been noticed, was celebrated for his liberality and profusion, and, doubtless, much of the wealth of India had recently gone to enrich the foreign invaders, of every class, quite apart from what eventually found its way into the Imperial treasury. His fellow Sípahsálár in Bengal, Muhammad Bakhtíar Khiljí, seems to have uttered no coin; and we have seen the reserve exercised by Táj-ud-dín Ilduz in abstaining from an independent issue, even to the extent of perpetuating his master's name on the currency long after his assassination. Minháj us-Siráj, writing as a contemporary, has left us a touching little episode in reference to these very matters. He tells us that Mu'iz-ud-dín in speaking, on one occasion, of the failure of his line in default of male offspring, regarded the circumstance as a matter of merely subordinate regret, adding, "have I not thousands of children in my Túrki slaves who will succeed to my kingdoms, and after my death will continue the *Khutbah* (the public prayer) in my name?" And the author goes on to

relate how, up to the date of his own writing in A H 658, such respect had been shown to the great Sultán's memory¹ There is no doubt that the most authoritative historical statements concur in representing that Kutb-ud dín Aibek did coin money in his own name, but the assertions come only in the conventional association of the right to coin as one of the cherished and sentimental attributes of royalty² The removal of his court from Dehli to Láhor³ may have had something to do with the non appearance of money marked

بر لفظ مبارک آن بادشاه [معزالدين] طاب ثراه رفت که دیگر
 سلاطین را یک فرورد یا دو فرورد باشد مرا چندین هزار فرورد است
 یعنی سدگان ترک من که مملکت من میراث ایشان خواهد بود و
 بعد از من خطه ممالک باسم من نگاه خواهد داشت و همچنان
 شد که بر لفظ مبارک آن بادشاه عاری رفت که بعد از او کل ممالک
 هندوستان را تا بغایت تحریر این سطور که سه ثمان و خمس و
 ستمانه است محافظت نمودند و می نمایند رحمت حق تعالی

[و عمره]—Tabakat i Nasir, p 132, Catta Text

و مدت ملک او از اول فتح دهلی تا بدین وقت هشت سال
 بود و عهد سلطنت او با چتر و خطبه و سکه مدت چهار سال و کسری
 بود.—T N p 141.

و چون سلطان عاری محمد سام طاب ثراه شهادت یافت سلطان
 عاتق الدین محمود محمد سام که برادر راده سلطان معزالدين بود
 قطب الدین را چتر فرمود و لقب سلطانی داد او در شهر سه انیس

by his name, and the extreme crudity of the very rare pieces of Arâm Shâh,¹ with their exceptional Persian legends, might also be taken to imply a disused or unpracticed metropolitan mint, were it not that there is cause to assign these issues to the provincial governments of Gwalior or Kâlinjar.

Kutb-ud-dîn had so long effectively wielded the powers of king that the death of the Suzerain Sultân made little real change in his position; and holding the essentials, he may well have extended but slight attention to the minor demonstrations and manifestoes otherwise needed for a newly-made monarch. Had Kutb-ud-dîn left behind him numismatic records in the higher metals, commemorative of his momentary occupation of Ghaznî, in hostile opposition to Ilduz,² which was essentially a contest for kingship, it would have been quite consistent with probabilities; but the absence of purely Indian money bearing his stamp, under all the circumstances now stated, need cause no particular astonishment.

و ستمائے از دہلی عزیمت لوہور کرد و در روز سہ شنبہ ہزدہم ماہ ذی
القعدہ سنہ اثنین و ستمائے بر تخت سلطنت لوہور جلوس فرمود

T.N. p. ۱۴

¹ Nos. 11, 12, pl. i. The other face of these coins is an imitation of, if not an absolute employment of, a ready prepared die of one class of Muhammad bin Sâms' *Hindi* money.

² The period extended over forty days — *Minhâj us-Sirâj*, p. 135, Calcutta Text.

THIRD KING (A H 607, A D 1210)

Arám succeeded his father, Aibek, but after a reign, circumscribed in its geographical limits, of barely one year, during which he lost many of the provinces of his nominally inherited kingdom, he was defeated and deposed by Altamsh, at that time governor of Budáon. Minháj us Siráj mentions that at Arám's death Hindustán was divided into four principalities—Sind in the possession of Násir ud dín Kubá chah, Dehli and its subordinate divisions belonged to Shams ud dín Altamsh, Lakhnauti was held by the Khilji chiefs, Alí Mardan having thrown off his allegiance on the death of Kutb ud dín, and Láhor remained a subject of contention between the rulers of Sind, Dehli, and Ghazni.

No 26

(No 13 Plate I)

Copper, 54 grs Very rare (Kalnjar Mint?)

Obverse, in imperfectly formed Persian letters—

ابوالمظفر آرام شاه السلطان

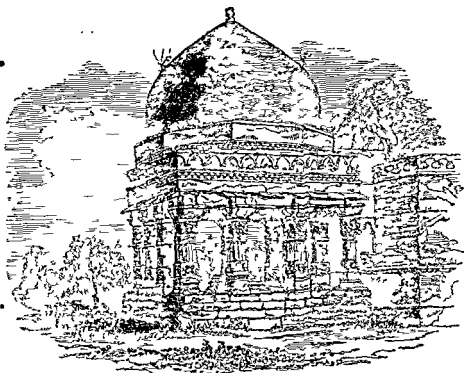
The victorious Aram Shah, the Sultan

Reverse—Rude traces of the figure of the horseman similar to the outline of the device on the Narwar coins.

No 27

(No 14 Plate I) Copper

Obverse—The same as that of No 26



PATHAN TOMB AT SEPREZ, NEAR GWALIOR

From a sketch by J. Fergusson, Esq

"As a general rule, the Pathan tombs are complete examples of the Saracenic style, and show but slight traces of Hindu design. But this was not always the case, for, as in their earlier Mosques, they sometimes appropriated the remains of Jaina architecture to save themselves the trouble of erecting the whole building from original materials. These compound edifices are frequently composed of only four pillars, supporting a small dome, but more generally of twelve, arranged, as the Jaina domes usually are, in an octagon worked into a square, supporting a dome of slightly pointed form."—Fergusson, li 634.

FOURTH KING (A.H. 607-633; A.D. 1210-1235).

Shams-ud-din-Altamsh, the greatest of the Slave Kings, the slave of a slave: rising, however, to be son-in-law to his master, he first (p. 363) fut le premier qui régna dans la in the legitimate succession. Avant son avènement au trône, il 'Ibec.'—Ibn Batoutah, iii. p. 164.

once realized in the slave market, but Badáuni gives a very different version of the derivation of the name

وجه تسمیه بایلتمش آست که تولدوی در شب گرفت ماه واقع شده بود و ترکان انجمن مولدرا بایلتمش مگوید^۱

OUTLINE OF THE RISE OF ALTAMSH

(Following the Calcutta Persian text of Minháj us Siráj, p 168, *et seq*)^۲

Purchased with another Túrkh, called Aibak Tamgháj, for the sum of 1,00,000 jitals, by Kutb ud dín, at Dehli Governor of Gwalior on its capture in 592 (p 169)

„ of Barn (Bulandshahar)

„ of Budáon

^۱ I have submitted this passage, with the entire range of variants, to Mr Redhouse, in the hope that he might solve the difficulty of the origin of the name His reply is not conclusive, though its grammatical criticisms may chance to promote an eventual solution of the enigma “Taking Badáuni’s paragraph as text, I may point out that though آ means ‘moon,’ and تَتَمِش may stand for تَوْتَمِش ‘he took, seized, eclipsed,’—the latter word, in the passive form, تَوْتَمِش ‘it was eclipsed,’ etc, being always employed to express the phenomenon of an eclipse, as آ تَوْتَمِش ‘the moon is or was eclipsed,’ آ تَوْتَمِش ‘an eclipse of the moon,’—still the ل of our word is out of the required place Badáuni’s remark may be one of those eastern guesses one so often meets with, and really beside the mark, but taking it as it stands, and weighing also the Sanskrit transcription लितितिमिसि, I would suggest that the ل has become misplaced by the transcribers, and that the name was really one of the two passive compounds shown above, the و being dropped in writing, as is often found in Indian Turki Lexicons This would make آیتلمسی or آیتلمش, thus latter being nearer to the Sanskrit transcription, and to the Persian گریت ماه, viz, ‘dy-tutulmasi, eclipse of the moon.’ To be correct, this should be written in two words آ تَتلمسی, and more correctly still, with a و, as آ تَوْتلمسی.”

^۲ See also Elliot’s *History*, ii 322, etc

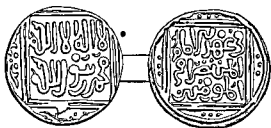
SUMMARY OF THE EVENTS OF ALTAMSH'S REIGN

- A H 607 Accession. Tāj ud dīn Ilduz sends him, in delegated sovereignty, a چتر و دورباش (Umbrella and Baton) Nasir ud dīn Kubachah disputes his title to Lāhor, Tībarhind, (Sīrhind), and Kohram
- „ 612 Taj ud dīn, driven into Hindustan by the Khwarizms, is defeated, captured, and imprisoned at Budaon, where he died, as his tomb testified
- „ 614 Nāsir ud dīn Kubāchah defeated Government of Labor confided to Nāsir ud dīn Mahmud, the heir apparent
- „ 618 Jelāl ud dīn Khwarizmi, defeated by Changiz Khan on the Indus, attempts to establish himself in Hindustan, but is forced to take refuge in Sind
- „ 622 Altamsh proceeds to Bengal, and receives the submission of Ghīās ud dīn Khiljī
- „ 623 Rantambhor captured
- „ 624 Mandor (in the Siwalik Hills) captured
- „ 625 Uchh surrenders Nasir ud dīn drowns himself at Bhakar (pp 144, 173)
- „ 626 (In Rabī ul awwal) the Emissary of the Khalīf Al Mustansir arrives at Dehli
- „ 626 (Jumad ul awwal) News of the death of the Sultan's eldest son, Nasir ud dīn Mahmud, reaches the capital
- „ 627 Disturbances in Bengal in consequence 'Ala ud dīn Jāmī appointed to Lakhnauti (p 174)
- „ 629 Siege of Gwahor* captured, in Safar 630, after eleven months' resistance
- „ 631-2 Expedition to Mālwa, Bhilsa,¹ and Ujain
- „ 633 „ towards Multan
- „ „ (20, Sh'aban), Altamsh dies

¹ The Butkhāns, the work of 300 years noticed, its partial destruction, etc

No xxviii

Silver Weight, 149.7 grs Very rare Col Guthrie
(Prinsep coin B M Weight, 164 grs)



OVERSE

Square area

لا اله الا الله

محمد رسول الله

Margin ornamental scroll

REVERSE

Square area within a circle

في عهد الامام

المستصر امر

المؤمن

Legend obliterated

I had, from the first, supposed that these exceptional coins were primarily designed to mark the occasion of the arrival of the Khalif's diploma, recognizing the new Muslim Empire of India—at Dehli, on the 23rd of the first month of A H 626, but the absence of any date on the single specimen I was able to quote in 1846, and the uncertainty with regard to the period of issue of the pieces giving the full and complete titles of the Sultán, made me hesitate to assume that these coins, bearing the sole and isolated name of the reigning Khalif of Baghdád, constituted the veritable commencement of the silver coinage of the Dehli Pathans. I now advance the idea with more confidence, not only on the ground of the absence of all examples of any local silver pieces anterior to A H 626, but upon the relative testimony of the writers of the day, as I observe that Hasan Nizámi,

the author of the *Táj-ul-Maásir*, refers his money values nearly exclusively to *Dillucals*, while *Minhá-j-us-Siráj*, who had more extensive and later experiences, reckons his totals in *chitals* and *tankas* of silver (pp 162-4, 316). The *Chitals* I conclude to be merely a continuation of the old *Hindu* *Dehliwáls* under the more popular and less exclusively metropolitan name, without however accepting any necessary identity between the palpable coins and the money of account.

It is quite true that the *Táj ul Maásir* alludes to *Dirhams* and *Dinárs*,¹ but these were the names of the current coins of the conqueror's own land, and their mention was merely conventional, and in no wise designed to mark any fixed variety of piece, as may be seen from the contemporaneous reproduction of the gold currency of Kanauj (No. 17) in the full traditional fabric and intrinsic value of the locality to which it belonged. Moreover, it may be seen how distinctly the *Tankah* was the accepted and recognized term in India, by the fact that the great Mahmúd of Ghazní, while continuing to make use of the ordinary mint designation of *Dirham*, in the Kufic legend, of his new Láhor coinage of "*Mahmúdpúr*,"² admits the corres-

¹ Hasan Nizámi says, for instance, in reference to the occasion of the capture of Benares by Muhammad bin Sam, that the face of the *dirhám* and *dirham* was adorned with the name and blessed titles of the king (Elliot's *Historians*, ii. 223). And again, on Kutb ud din's accession, "From Peshawur downwards the public prayers and coinage of *dirháms* and *dirhams* throughout the whole country, full of rivers, received honor and embellishment from his name and royal titles" (ii. 236).

² Alburúni, M. Re naud مَسِيدُ هُوَكُورُ قَصَّةُ لَوْهَآوُرُ Fragments, pp 88, 114, Alburúni, MS Kánún مَسِدُ كَمَآوُرُ Sir H Elliot's copy, Elliot's *Historians*, i. 62, MSS *Bashák* مَسِدُ كُكُورُ, variant مَسِدُ كُكُورُ, Sprenger's Map, No 13 مَسِدُ كُكُآوُرُ Post und Reise routen des Orients, Leipzig, 1864, Juynboll, Lex Geo مَسِدُ كُكُورُ, Dory مَسِدُ كُكُورُ.

These coins have such special claims upon our attention, under many varied

ponding word टक *taka* (or टक *tanka*) in the Sanskrit legend on the reverse

aspects, that I transcribe the latest revised version of the legends, and reproduce an illustrative wood block of the Hindi face

Silver Size, 4½ weight 45.4 grs Struck at Mahmūdpur, A.H. 418, 419

OBVERSE

अव्यक्तमेक

Abyaktamek

मुहम्मद अ

Muhammad A-

वतार नृप

ratār Nripa-

ति महमूद

ti Mahmūd

"The invisible (is) one

"Muhammad incarnation

"King Mahmūd"



REVERSE

القادر

لا اله الا الله

محمد رسول الله

يمين الدولة

وامن الملة

محمود

بسم الله صرف هذا الدرهم

لمحمود پور سنة ثمان عشرة

واربعماية

Margin—अव्यक्तीयो दामे अयं टकं तता महमूदपुर सवती ४१८

Abyaktiya ūdme ayam tankam tatā Mahamūdpur Samvati 418

In the name of the invisible (Bismillah) this tanka, thus [corresponding with the Arabic ب, Fernan د "in"], (struck) at Mahmūdpur, Samvat 418

Other examples, with the Kuto date of 419 A.H., vary the marginal legend as follows —

In consecutive accordance with this suggestion of an

has to be applied to घटे, are all open to criticism, and still more so is the rendering of जिकीयेर as victorious, but the जि is in its fit place, and there are many inflexions of छ लरि, "to do," क्रिया "an act," Hindustani کرنا "to do" (ک لrd, "done," etc.), which might fall in with the present loose conditions

in so popular an expression as "Victorious Samrat." An association which is the more natural, as this particular type of money seems to have been introduced for the purpose of marking Mahmūd's final triumph, in getting possession of Lāhor, a conquest which was not achieved so early as has usually been supposed.

On previous occasions, when I had fewer specimens to depend upon, and none that gave the written Kufic counterpart of the Hindi figured date for 418, I read the unit figure as २=2. I now see that it is in effect an oddly shaped ८=8, and that the 9 is formed, like many of our modern figures for the same number, by an addition to the 8 itself, thus ८; the ४ is the ordinary form, and the 9 follows the proper Kashmiri outline of that figure. The Kufic dies for these coins must have been entrusted to a first class artist, for they are uniformly excellently fashioned and correctly marked in the details, whereas the legends on the Hindi face of the coinage vary considerably in their execution, and the orthography and the forms of the characters themselves are crude and uncertain in the extreme. Nevertheless these brief records contribute several valuable indications of the advance made in the Sanskrit palaeography of the period.

The derivation of the term *Tanka* is uncertain, Erskine (whose note on the subject is appended) supposed that it came from the Chaghatai Turki for *white*, but this is scarcely probable. The word may have been of Turanian origin, very early identified with Indian speech, we have it in various forms in the modern vernaculars. Wilson remarks that *ṭaka* is "in all the dialects largely used for money in general," as *ṭanka* is "a stamped coin in general, but the latter word also meant a weight of silver equal to four *maṣkas*." In Telugu, *ṭankam* is "a coin formerly current, but now used only in account, equal to four silver *ṭanams*." There was a gold *ṭankam* and a copper coin similarly named, both obsolete. Hence, we have टङ्कशाला *ṭankaśālā*, "a mint," but, on the other hand, we have टङ्क and *ṭāṇḍa* (Canarese), *ṭinca*, "Borax," which may re-associate the term with "white." Erskine says, "It may be added, that the word *ṭanka* or *tanga* is of Chaghatai Turki origin, being derived from *tang*, which in that language means *white*, having the same origin as the *asper* (from *ḥσπος*, white) of the modern Greeks, the *Ak-cha* of the Ottoman Turks, the *idāri* of the Mingrelians, and many other monies, all originally signifying *white* (Josa fa Barbaro in Ramusio, ii. 96). The *tengi* of Khwārizm would appear to have been worth the fourth of a crown (Astley's Voyages, iv. 484). At the present day in Persia the *tanga* seems to be worth only 6d (J. B. Fraser, Travels in Persia, p. 81)." — Erskine's Hist. India, i. 546 '21 *tungas* = *tilla*, or 11s. 9d. (Bokhāra Money Tables, J. A. S. Bengal, vii. 898). On the other hand, Vambéry gives a totally different word for "white" in Chaghatai, keeping the *ṭenge* to the simple meaning of "Monnaied argent." The Russian Денги *Dengi*.

initial era for the purely Muhammadan coinage of the new Dehli empire—incident to hierarchical recognition from the Court of Baghdád—there follows naturally an explanation of what has heretofore constituted a difficulty in determining the application of the titles of *Khalif* and *Amir ul Muminin*, expressed in *Hindī* characters on certain classes of *Dehliwāls*,¹ which are now seen to refer to the “Commander of the Faithful,” whose fame extended throughout the Muslim

¹ The primary intention of the words **श्री हमीरः** *Sri Hammīrah* occurring on the newly adapted currency of the local Sovereigns of India (Nos 5, 10, 11, 12, etc.) has been the subject of controversy since the first publication of specimens of these pieces by James Prinsep, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1835 (vol. iv pp 679-682, the original text of which is reproduced in his *Essays*, vol. i pp 305-310) Prinsep himself was disposed to identify the name (as he supposed it to be), with that of the Hamīra of Mewar, who succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1300. Prof. Wilson, on the other hand (*Ariana Antiqua*, p. 432), imagined that the designation belonged to the “Hamīra of Hānsi, in the time of Prithvi Raja (p. 60, *infra*)” My own early impressions induced me to infer that the title was intended to replace the conventional *Amir ul Muminin*, so constant on the one surface of all orthodox Muhammadan issues (*J. R. A. S.* ix (1846), p. 191, Prinsep’s *Essays*, i. 331, Elliot’s *Historians*, ii. pp. 8, 428). This conclusion was contested by Sir H. Elliot and General Cunningham (Elliot’s *Index to the Muhammadan Historians of India*, published at Agra in 1849, p. 152), and formed the subject of a second Note by the former, written many years ago, but which I considered it my duty to publish exactly as it was found among his papers, unaltered and uncommented upon (Elliot’s *Historians*, ii. 403). In now reviewing the whole question, under the new evidence, in its varied aspects, that has been imported into the inquiry by coins, inscriptions, and the large accession to directly contemporaneous history, I have no hesitation in surrendering my early theory. Much of the incidental testimony latterly brought to light, and which seemed, at first sight, calculated to support the identification with the titular designation of the Khalif, when examined more closely is found to admit of a directly contrary interpretation as I myself had suggested in 1858. I allude especially to the appearance of the term **शलीफ** *Shālīpha*, which succeeds to the exact position on the coins previously occupied by the *Sri Hammīra*, and to the altered aspect that coincidence bears, when taken in connection with the more clear and emphatic definition of the title of the Pontiff, at a more opportune moment, under the improved orthography of “*Sri Amir alim*,” etc., above described.

The coin No. 16 definitively connects the prefix *Sri Hammīra* with Muhammad bin Sām, and the Palam Inscription (*infra*) conclusively determines the continued

world, even to the Delta of the Ganges.¹ The earliest pieces of this description, which were designed to convey to the subject races of Hindustán, in the letters of their own speech, the title and designation of the supreme Pontiff of their conqueror's faith, bear on the one face, above the conventional horseman of the first Brahman kings of Kábul the words श्री यलीफ *Srī Shalīpha* (Khalīfa), and on the other surface, distributed around the Bull of Siva (whose image has nearly disappeared in the interwoven lines of the later *tughras*), the curtailed legend श्री अमीर अलम... *Srī Amīr alim*..., an apparently crude reproduction of the Arabic أمير المؤمنين. To these, again, succeed, in due order, the coins of similar fabric issued during the reign of Alá-ud-dín Mas'aud,² which retain the यलीफ *Shalīfa* on the one side, while the more ample title of the "Chief of the Faithful" is replaced by the King's own regnant designation, following, in so far, the practice of his grandfather, who had very early superseded the exclusive mention of the ruling Pontiff.

To complete the evidence of the intentional use of the title of the Khalif on the lower coinage, I am now able to quote the record of Mustansir's name in Hindi as the counterpart of the Arabic definition of his designation and official recognition on the Silver Coins, No. 28.

use of the royal title of *Srī Hanmīra*, in its application to the then reigning monarch, an contradistinction to the various honorary epithets associated with the names of his predecessors. And, on the other hand, the seeming anomaly of the indifferent employment of the higher and lower titles of *Sultān* and *Amīr* is found to be sanctioned by historical usage from the times of Mahmūd of Ghazni and his son Mas'ūd. See *Albiruni* (Reinaud's Fragments, pp 135, 164), *Bakhārī*, *Elliot's Historians*, II. pp 65, etc.

¹ Coins of Nāsir-ud dīn Mahmūd Shāh of Bengal, and numerous specimens of the Lakhanauti mintages of Ruzāh.—Plate 1 No. 27 of this work, and Initial Coinage of Bengal, pp 38, 42, and coin 28 *supra*.

² Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, vol. i 332, *Elliot's Historians*, II 248

The Khalif Mustansir billah

No xxviii Copper Weight 53 grs My cabinet

No 28b Copper, with a small proportion of silver General

Cunningham Two coins Weight, 52 grs

HORSEMAN

BULL

श्री शलीफ

? म मुखंसिर वल

Sri Shaliphah

m Mustansir billah

These legends are very imperfect, and have only been restored from the three specimens cited above. The compound letters मुख, *must*, are palpable and unmistakable on two coins, and the सि *si* is legible on both General Cunningham's examples, the concluding वल is so far conjectural that the ल alone is positively apparent on one coin, and what I have given as र *r* may perchance stand for the short : in billah

Shams ud-din Altamsh

No xxix (New variety No 1 Pl vii) Col Guthrie Silver

Weight, 158 grs A H 632

Circular area

Square area, double lines

لا اله الا الله

السُّلْطَانُ الْمُعْظَمُ

محمد رسول الله

شَمْسُ الدِّينِ وَالدِّينِ

المستصر بامر الله

أَنُو الْمُطْعَمِ عَرِ السَّمَشِ

امير المؤمنين

السُّلْطَانُ بَاعِرِ أَمْرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

Margin—اثنى وثلاث وستماية

Margin, four small scroll ornaments

No xxx (No 13, pl 1)

Pransep collection B M Silver Weight, 163.5 grs

Three new specimens, weighing severally 150, 160, and (an oxydized coin), 145 grs Col Guthrie

Legends similar to No 29, with the exception of the الأعظم "the greatest," which replaces the المعظم "the great," of the former. Many of these coins concur in the faulty rendering of the real

name of the Khalif *المستنصر بالله* Al mustansir billah, by *بامر الله* b'amr illah. The place of mintage is illegible, but two specimens retain traces of an imperfect date, thus *سنة ثلثين . . . في شهر*.

No. xxxi. Silver. Weight, 168·5 grs. A.H. 632.

• OBVERSE as No. 30, omitting the *Násir Amír Al Muminín*.

REVERSE as No. 28. Square area.

MARGINS, alike on both faces,

ضرب هذا الفضة في . . سنة اثنى وثلثين وستماية

• The fourth trial-piece of Altamsh seems to have satisfied the mint authorities, and to have been officially adopted as the standard monetary type of the Indian Empire, and as such continued to be issued in the same form, and with but slightly varied legends, by the kings who came after him, in unbroken sequence, for a period of more than ninety years. The gold coinage, which makes its appearance later, is clearly framed upon the same model, being identical in weight and design, though necessarily slightly reduced in bulk. Such of Altamsh's silver coins as have reached us are obviously of impure metal, an imperfection to have been expected in the issues of a newly organized mint, but his successors very early secured a high degree of fineness in both the gold and silver coinages—indeed, as far as the metallurgical science of the day extended, they aimed at absolute purity. The real pervading currency of the realm, however, obviously consisted of the time-honored, and widely dispersed *billon* money, and the subordinate copper pieces, which the Muslims inherited with their new dominions from the local princes. In addition to the continued issue of but slightly modified types of Dehliwáls with the traditional Bull and Horseman device, Altamsh introduced abundant varieties of small change. I need not recapitulate

the minor peculiarities of these novelties, though many of them are now for the first time published, but the incidental gradations of the Hindi legends on some of the provincial currencies illustrate, in a curious degree, the slow progress of the effective conquest of, or real submission by, the native dynasties, and occasionally disclose an inconveniently premature boast on the part of the historians of the invading race. One of the most instructive series, in this respect, is the coinage of the heads of the Rajput nationalities, whose feudal attachments and heroic contests have been embalmed in the bardic chants of their own tribes, and whose folk lore and traditions have been garnered up and enthusiastically commented on by Col Tod,¹ who so truly identified himself with the home life and familiar institutions of these peculiar races. Our knowledge of the more essentially antiquarian remains extant inscriptions, and legendary history of some of the older states of Rájputana has lately been materially advanced by the patient investigations, traced site by site, and the resulting comprehensive archaeological reports of Gen Cunningham, addressed to the Government of India, the best testimony of my appreciation of which is expressed in the numerous extracts and references incorporated in the following pages

The coinage of northern India, as we have seen, at and prior to the invasion of Muhammad bin Sâm, consisted of *Billon* money, of a type imitated from the less alloyed *Silver* coinage of the Brahmanical kings² of the Punjáb,

¹ Annals of Rajasthán, by Col J Tod, London

² Al-Bírdí uses the words *ورقة من الراهمة كلر* and *عدده الراهمة سامد* which certainly seem to be the Jam al Tawárikh has *الراهمة سامد*

whose early seat of government had been located at Kábul. Albírúni's account of this dynasty, and the resistance offered by its later members to the advance of the great Mahmúd of Ghazní, concludes with the narrative of the extinction of the race in the person of Bhíma Pála in A.H. 416 (A.D. 1025). Whether Albírúni has preserved the full and continuous succession in the eight names he enumerates is doubtful; but it is clear that there is a break in the terminology between the four leading names on his list and the designations preserved in the second division, while the variation in the nomenclature at their point of juncture, coupled with an apparent cessation of coinage on the part of the leading kings of the second period, seems to indicate the indirect accession of a more southern and definitively Rájpút race, unaccompanied by any such overt rupture, or dynastic revolution, as should reach the comprehension of a stranger to local tradition or the unwritten law, which so readily accepted the most powerful king for the time being, as the Suzerain *Mahá rāja*, wherever he might be domiciled, or whatever sectional creed he might choose to reserve for his own private conscience. I was originally under the impression that the coins of *Anangpál* and *Sallaśhanpál* (Nos. 32, 33, *infra*) belonged to the sixth and seventh kings of Albírúni's consecutive series, supposing that, the one name being *identical*, the other might represent the designation of his successor, so strangely perverted by the Muslim writers into the many varying forms of M. Reinaud's "NARDAJANPÁL." I am now, however, disposed to transfer the pieces bearing the epigraph of "Anangpál" to the king of that name, who

point to absolute caste in contradistinction to mere creed. The Tárk kings were Buddhists

completed *Lal Kot*, and reëdified *Dillā*, about the middle of the eleventh century;¹ and, while seeking a new owner among the closely contemporary sovereigns for the coins of *Sallakshanpāl*, to restore to the second *Jajpal* the tribal prefix of *Tuār*.² The general style and fabric of the mintages of *Anangpāl* remove them, in a marked degree,

¹ "In Mewar is *Samar Singh*, who takes tribute from the mighty . . . In the midst of all, strong in his own strength, Mundra prince, the arrogant *Nalar Pao*, the right of Maroo, fearing none. In Delhi, the chief of all *Anunga*, at whose summons attended the princes of *Mundora*, *Nagore*, *Sin's Julwut*, and others on its confines, *Pothawar Lahore*, *Kangra*, and its mountain chiefs, with *Kasi*, *Prag*, and *Gurh Deogarh*."—From "*Chand's*" *Chronicle*, Tod's translation, i. 224. "The author ad's, the Chohans of Ajmer owed at least homage to Delhi at this time, although *Deesul-doo* had rendered it almost nominal, and to *Somēswar*, the fourth in descent, *Anungpal* was indebted for the preservation of his supremacy of his kingdom against the attempt of *Kanauj* for which service he obtained the *Tuar's* daughter in marriage, the issue of which was *Prithi Raj* who, when only eight years of age, was proclaimed successor to the Delhi throne. *Jeichanl* of *Kanauj* and *Prithi Raj* bore the same relative situation to *Anungpal*, *Deesulpal*, the father of the former, as well as *Somēswar*, having had a daughter of the *Tuar* to wife." i. p. 225.

² M. Peignaud and Sir H. Elliot have collected together numerous variants of the initial portion of this name, as it appears in the different Arabic and Persian MSS. General Cunningham has also quoted many possible readings of the Persian letters forming the name of *Budak*, the King of Sind, of Mas'audi, in illustration of which he contributes three several Hindi versions of the name of *Tudar*, viz., तोमर, तोअर, and तुवार. Colbrooke gives some eight variants of the authorized orthography of the name of Chohan, and nearly as multifarious a list of the Hindi versions of the name of Delhi (*Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1827, i. 137). See also *Memoirs of Races N W P.*, Sir H. Elliot (London, 1859), i. 63, and ii. p. 294, where he quotes the well known passage—

पाहले दिहली तुमर पीछे चौहानु
और पीछे मोगल पठानु

"First in Dihli was the Tumar, then the Chauhan,
And afterwards Mogal and Pathan."

Of course, if this interpretation of the prefix to the second *Jajpal's* name is to be accepted, we must either surrender the previous suggestion that the great *Jajpal* was a *Bhatt* (*J R.A.S.* xi. p. 181, Elliot's *Historians*, ii. 426-440, Tod, i. 251), or else adopt a not improbable alternative, that *Rajput* Princes had

from the category of the more finished monetary specimens of the first section of the Kábul dynasty, even as their treatment in *tughra*, size, and metal approximates them to the more purely Indian currencies of the later epoch. The absence of any coins of Jaipál I, Anandpál I, *Tuár* Jaipál, or Bhimpál, need scarcely create surprise, now that we have learnt from Mahmúd's own historians¹ what a life he led these later representatives of the ancient dynasty; so that, when Bhimpál retired to his last stronghold at Kangra,² he had already become but of small repute in the political comity of the Rájās of northern India.

Abú Ribín Al Birúni's list of the Brahman kings of Kábul and their Indian successors is as follows: After Kank, كك,

family designations indicative of the *Got* or tribe of the mother. I am not at all sure that such a supposition would not go far to explain the difficulty environing the name of "*Gola*," which has been made into "slave" (Tod, i. 179), "natural son," etc. etc., but which would more reasonably answer to some of the vernacular renderings of "*Gehlote*," ("Someswara, originally called Prithvi Raja, was a *Guhila* by the mother's side."—Cunningham, Arch. Rep. p. 14), equally as some of the prefixes to *پور حیدر* *Par Jaipál* and "*Perou Hibal*" (Elliot, ii. 47) may chance to accord with the classical *Pramar*. The Muhammadan authors seldom specify, and probably but imperfectly realised the gradations of Hindu castes, but the Táji ul Maásur, in speaking of the investment of Káhnjar in A.D. 1202, mentions that "the accursed *Parindr*, the Ráu, fled into the Fort," etc. (Elliot's *Historians*, ii. 231, and p. 228 *Rái Solankh páil*, of Gwahor, A.D. 1196) Parihár dynasty at Marwar from A.D. 1129, "the last Parihár Raja," escapes from *Gwahor* in A.D. 1232, on its capture by Altamsh (Cunningham, Arch. Rep. 1864-5, p. 29). The Parihár dynasty of Gwahor extended from 1223 A.D. to the final capture in 1232 (pp. 50, 51, *ibid.*). Of course, these are merely suggestive speculations, but it is clear from the numerous quotations concerning tribal divisions among the Rájputs preserved by Col. Tod, that the *Gotam* distinction would be as likely to be kept prominently in view among individuals as among the clans themselves. In referring to an earlier period, Col. Tod enumerates the contingents furnished from each State, "from Ajmir the *Gor*, Dehli the *Tiar*, Putan the *Chaurura*, Rujdhur, Kanouj the *Rahtor*, Jesulgurh the *Bhatti*, Láhor the *Boosa*, and from Nadolaye the *Chohan*." i. 248

¹ Elliot's *Historians*, ii. pp. 19, 22, 24, 33, 47, 50

² Elliot, ii. p. 34, 48

In some of the more finely executed coins there are traces of the word राजा *Rājā* after the *Anangapāla deva*. The introductory title on the

introductory series, instead of over the Horseman on the Obverse, as is usual on the later imitations. The outline of the Bull itself is comparatively archaic, following the treatment observable in the coins of Bhīma (A A XIX 9, 17), and which I should, on other grounds, attribute to a Kangra or proximate site. The Hindi writing is comparatively more formed and developed than is usual on the kindred pieces, but the execution of the Kufic letters denotes an early period, and the monogram of س associates the issue indirectly with the coinage of Mas'ūd III of Ghazni, who affected the title of سالملة (J R A S ix 367, and coin No cxxxv), and occasionally placed the abbreviated سای on the top of the field on his silver money. But the connexion is more directly established by the fact that I am able to quote a small coin of Mas'ūd III with his *full* titles in Kufic on the obverse, combined with the identical س on the *Ḥaṣi* of the Bull. Mas'ūd III (A.H. 492-508), it will be remembered, was the first of his race who occupied Lāhor as an occasional capital, and whose generals attempted to annex the country towards the Ganges—Nāsiri, p. 21, Ibn Asir, x p. 303, Briggs, i. 143, Elphinstone, 355.

As the Hānsi Inscription, which may chance to illustrate some of the doubtful names above transcribed, is but little known, and but imperfectly accessible to modern readers, I append an abstract of its leading historical sections.

INSCRIPTION FROM HĀNSI (copied by Captain E. Fell, from a stone in the Fort)

- 1 Salutation to Devī, etc
- 2 The Prince Prithivī Rājā was born in the race of the descendants of the moon. His maternal uncle was named Kīrāṇa, an increaser of his fame.
- 3 He was as an autumnal moon, for an ornament to that firmament, the tribe of Guhālanta, etc
- 4 Having slain the warrior Hammura ["Hamvira," or Amur, according to Wilson, p. 466], who was an arrow to the earth, the king, who was a serpent to the riches of his enemies. . . presented to him, possessing pure virtues, the strong fortress of Asikī.
- 5 Having, for the purposes of battle, entered the lofty peaked fortress. Travellers describing a celestial, and highly finished road, which he (Kīrāṇa) had made, and which resembled the very heart (best part) of the earth, thus exclaimed, "Oh thou hero Hammura, where now is thy name and majesty."
- 6 By new revenues, arising from his victories, first the high road was finished, near it were two lofty buildings made of copper, etc, and also an apartment for the wealth of his enemies. . .
- 7 But what can be said of the greatness. . . of the fortunate Kīlhaṇa, divinely seated, broad-chested, strong armed, whose festivals are far-famed. . .

Bull surface of these coins varies from the *Mádhava* (a synonym of *Krishna*), to the bilateral चा *cha* and the more ample असावरी *Asawari* (a title of *Durgā*)

9 Oh thou hero! Hanuman thus writes, "that you possess wonderful valour, and that without a doubt the illustrious prince Prithvi Raja is Rāma."

10 Being born in the line of Gahvalanta, etc.

11, 12, 13, 14 [conventional glorifications, etc.]

15 And, again, Kilavalha, born in the tribe of Tāda, an image of strength, and a slayer of the armies of all his foes (was) a bee to the lotus feet of the fortunate Kilhana his son Upaga was called on the earth Lakshmana

16 He was an excellent sage, and by his devotion obtained the abode of the three eyed god This fortunate Lakshmana was always the chief of those composed minds.

In the year of Sambat 1224 (A D 1168) on Saturday, the 7th of the white fortnight, of the month of Magha."—As Res xv (published in 1825), pp 413-6, 455

Col. Tod has published, in the first volume of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society (1827), "the substance" of this identical inscription, which he states he obtained at Hānsī Hāsār, in 1816 "The stone on which it was engraved was presented to the Marquis of Hastings in 1818, but is not now to be traced Col. Tod's version differs in many respects from that given above—(1) In the name of *Kerana*, which he uniformly makes into *Kilhana*, as it appears in paragraphs 7 and 16 of the Fell translation, (2) Hammira, instead of being slain, is himself invested with the charge of the strong fortress of *Ksi*, (3) The *road* said to have been constructed in the one version becomes "a gateway" in the other, (4) "Two halls the victorious treasury of the foe's wealth and his own abode, replaces the words in paragraph 6, above given, (5) and Tāda is corrected into Doda (*Dōr*)

It would be rash to arbitrate between these two authorities in the absence of the original document in dispute, with the witnesses on either side in their graves, but certainly Capt Fell's version is somewhat obscure and disconnected, while Tod's, though only an abstract, seems more simple and consistent. Prof Wilson, however, who publishes the posthumous work of Capt. Fell, whom he designates as that "distinguished scholar," possibly had the transcript text available to check the translation to which he lends his authority Tod's case is not so clear, though from the general tenor of his paper there remains a doubt as to whether he had the complete Sanskrit transliteration in his possession

See also Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, p 432, who partially repeats his accepted interpretation of the inscription, in the words, "He was more probably the Hamira, who was governor of Hānsī in the time of Prithwī Rai, and was killed by the Raja's uncle Kilhana, as recorded by an inscription found in that Fort."

No 33 2 Sallakshana pála deva ¹
 Silver and copper Weight, 50 grs (J R A S ix figs 11, 12)

Horseman

श्री सल्लक्षणा पाल देव

Srī Sallakshana pála deva

Bull

श्री समन्त देव

Srī Samanta deva

No. 34 3 Madana Pála Deva

Silver and copper Weight, 51 grs (J A S Bengal, iv. pl xxxvi
 fig 16, Prinsep's Essays, xxv fig 16, xxvi fig 27; Ariana
 Antiqua, xix figs 19 and 23, J.R A S vol ix. illustrative
 plate, fig 13)

Horseman

श्री मदन पाल देव

Srī Madana pála deva

Bull

माधव श्री समन्त देव

Mádhava Srī Samanta deva

In order to bring under one view all the coins of this class appertaining to Native States, at or about the epoch of the extension of the Muhammadan conquests among the Rájput tribes, I append a notice of two coins of Mahipála, the one having traces of the old Brahmanical Bull and Horseman device, the other approximating, in a minor degree, to the Narwar design of Cháhar's local issues

No 35 Mahīpala, king of Gwalior, etc , A D 1093 ¹

Copper, or copper with a very small admixture of silver Weight,
46 grs (3 specimens, my cabinet)

Horseman

The original figure
is scarcely to be traced

Bull

श्री महीपाल

Srī Mahīpāla

In large coarse modern looking
characters, with the *mātrās* (or
head lines) nearly level, as in
Muhammad Sām's coin No 13)

No 36 Mahīpal

Silver and copper Weight, 43 grs (J R A S ix plate, fig 15,
pp 188, 198

श्रीम

Srī Ma-

हपाल

hi pāla

देवः

Devah

Imperfect traces
of the Chohān Bull

(No legend)

No 37 4 Someswara deva

Silver and copper Weight, 53 grs (A A xix 28, J R A S ix
fig 16

Horseman

श्री सोमेश्वर देव

Srī Somesvara deva

Bull

असावरी श्री समन्त देव

Asuvarī, Śrī Samanta deva

¹ Cunningham, Gwalior Inscriptions, p 62, A.D 1093 and 1103 Rayendra
Lala Mitra, J A S Bengal, pp 12, 16, Princep, Useful Tables, p 258

No 38

5 Prithvi Raja Deva

Silver and copper Weight, 52 grs (Ariana Antiqua, xix fig 18,
Prinsep's Essays, 1 pl xxv fig 21, xxvi 30)

Horseman

Bull

श्री पृथ्वी राज देव

असावरी श्री समन्तदेव

Śrī Prithvī Rāja deva

Asāvārī Śrī Samanta deva

It will be¹ seen that in this new arrangement of these coins I have altogether abandoned any principle of continuous sequence as well as any theory of limitation to one family or to one locality in short, I hold that the right to issue this particular species of currency was conventionally confined to the Lord paramount among the Rājput States for the time being, and that the acknowledged *Rajadhiraj* (राजाधिराज) 'King over Kings' or the "*Dhiraj*" of the vernacular, was alone entitled to this symbol of supremacy¹. That the exercise of the right was frequently abused is

¹ We may here briefly describe the state of Hindusthān at this epoch and for centuries previous to the invasions of Mahmūd (four great kingdoms)—
1 Dehli under the Turs and Chohans 2 Kanouj under the Rahtores
3 Mewar under the Gheotes 4 Anbulwara under the Chauras and Solankhis
To one or other of these states the numerous petty princes of India paid homage and feudal service The boundary line between Dehli and Kanouj was the *Kal nadī* or black stream Dehli claimed supremacy over all the countries westward to the Indus embracing the lands watered by its arms from the foot of the Himalaya, the desert, to the Aravall chain The power of Kanouj extended north to the foot of the Snowy Mountains eastward to Kasi (Benares) and across the Chumbul to the lands of the Ohundal (now Béndelkhund) on the south its possessions came in contact with Mewar (or Medya war) the central region, which was bounded to the north by the Aravall chain to the south by the Pramaras of Dhar westward by Anbulwara, which state had the ocean to the south, the Indus on the west and the desert to the north.—Tod ii 9 and i. 248 At p 443 vol ii Col Tod gives Chand's picture of the Chohan dominion—From the seat of government (*Rajdesh/dan*) *Machoti* (old Gurra Mundilla) the oath of allegiance (*An*) resounded in fifty two castles

highly probable, but among these heroic races,¹ who were sensitive to a degree on questions of honour and precedence, an assumption which could not be defended by the sword was likely to be of brief continuance. The old Kabul device of the Bull and Horseman, with its special Hindu associations, was apparently revived by Anangpál, at Dehli, in the days of his power; as other potentates came to the front, and other clans secured a temporary dominancy, his position changed, and, later in point of time, Dehli became a mere king-ship subject to Ajmír. It will be seen that I propose to assign the next coin, in the order of date, to Sallakshanapála I., the Chándel monarch of Mahoba,² who

¹ Have we anything in European chivalry to compare with the act of the Saktawut Chief, who is related to have voluntarily submitted himself for impalement on the spikes of the gate of a beleaguered town, to enable his own elephant to force an entry?—Tod, i 160

² CHÁNDEL DYNASTY (Mahoba, Káunjar, etc) Cunningham, Arch Rep, 1864-5

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| | A D |
| 7th King, | 900, Dhanga (Khajuráho Inscriptions, A D 954 and 999) |
| 8th | „ 999, Ganda (Nanda Rai of Ferishtah ? A D 1021) |
| 9th | „ 1025, Vidyádharma deva |
| 10th | „ 1046, Vijaya Pála |
| 11th | „ 1065, Kirtti Varmma deva COINS |
| 12th | „ 1085, Sallakshana Varmma deva (Mihov Inscriptions) COIN |
| 13th | „ 1105, Jaya Varmma deva (Khajuráho Inscriptions, A D 1116)
COIN (Prinsep's Essays, pl XLIV 7, 8, p 291 श्री अजय देव) |
| 14th | „ 1120, Sallakshana Varmma deva ³ brother of Jaya |
| 15th | „ 1125, Prithvi Varmma. COINS |
| 16th | „ 1130, Madana Varmma deva (Inscriptions, 1131, 1163, A D) COINS |
| 17th | „ 1163, Kirtti Varmma deva ? |
| 18th | „ 1167, Paramárdha deva (Inscriptions, 1167 and 1183 A D) |
| 19th | „ 1202, Trailokya Varmma deva. <i>Dikka</i> of Ferishtah ? A D 1217 |
| 20th | „ 1205, Sandhura Varmma deva (Copper plate Inscriptions, 1250 A D) |
| 21st | „ 1250, Bhoja Varmma (Ajaygurh Inscription), 1288 A D |
| 22nd | „ Vira Varmma (Maisey's Inscription, No 11), 1315 A D |

we learn from inscriptions extended his conquests into the Gangetic Doáb, and to his grandson *Madana Varmma deva* I assign the coins bearing his leading name, in preference to the nearly contemporary *Madana Pala*, of Kanauj, whose territory was supplied with a different description of coinage, as well as on account of the serial consistency, if the earlier pieces are rightly attributed to his grandsire, whose power he seems to have inherited in added stability¹ The assignment of the money of the Chohán kings Someswara and Prithvi Raja requires no confirmation, but our special

General Cunningham adds the coins of this dynasty are "extremely rare as I have obtained only seven specimens in gold, and nine in copper, during a period of more than thirty years The gold and silver coins are all of the well known type of the Rathors of Kanauj which bear a seated figure of the four armed goddess *Durgā* or *Pārvatī* on the obverse, and on the reverse, the king's name in three lines of Mediaeval *Adgarā* characters The copper coins bear, on the obverse, a two armed male figure, which appears to be that of the monkey god *Hanumān* and, on the reverse, the king's name in *Nāgarī* characters. Arch. Report 1864-5, pp 85-88

General Cunningham was under the impression that the Trailokya Varmma Deva, of the Chāndel list, might be identified with the "Dilki and Milki of Ferishtah The more complete details of the actors and events of this period, furnished by the work of Minhāj us Sirāj seem to show that though the association of Trailokya with the Milku or Mulkdeva (ملک دیو) the son of *Vasala* of Gwalior (Elliot, II 327, Persian text p 174 ملکو پسر میل or دلکی, var پسر نسل, the *Tārīkh Mubārak Shāhī* which copies Minhāj us Sirāj has نسل مالک MS Sir II Elliot, A H 699 = A D 1231), might be possible, notwithstanding the obscurity of the patronymic, the name of Dilki and Milki (دلکی و ملکی و اوراث بود), of A H 645 = A D 1247, can scarcely apply to the same individual, who is described as residing "in the vicinity of the Jumna, between Kāhnjar and Karra, whose dwelling place no Muhammadan army had ever reached—*Tabakāt i Nāsiri* pp 211, 291 See also Elliot, II 348-355 III 76

¹ Inscriptions at *Mho c*, translated by Lieut. Price, 2, Kāhnjar, Lieut. Masey No 17 and 11 others—Cunningham, Arch. Report, p 83

concern at present is with the issues of Cháhara Deva. We have independent evidence of his supremacy at Narwar, in A.D. 1246;¹ and in 1234 we first find him encountering the troops of Altamsh, under Nusrut-ud-din Tábasī. On this and subsequent occasions of his conflicts with the Muslims, extending up to A.D. 1253, with the capture of Narwar, by Balban, in 1251, he is described by Minháj us Siráj, as نزرگترین رانا "This Rána Áchári," who was رانا "The greatest of the kings of Hindustán," etc.,

¹ "In my account of the ancient coins of Narwar, I have brought forward specimens of Cháhada Deva which are dated in various years, from S 1303 to 1311, or A.D. 1246 to 1254, and specimens of his son Asala Deva which range from S 1311 to 1336, or from A.D. 1254 to 1279. As these are corroborated by several existing inscriptions there seems to be no reason to doubt that at least these two Rajas must have been independent princes. But there are also similar coins of a third prince, named Malaya Varma Deva, who, from the dates of S 1280 and 1290, or A.D. 1223 and 1233, must have been the immediate predecessor of Cháhada Deva. His coins were found at Narwar, Gwalior, and Jhansi, but as there are only five specimens, it is not certain that they belong to Narwar. Indeed the name of Varma would rather seem to point to Kálinjar. It is possible, therefore, that Cháhada himself may have supplanted the Parihár dynasty. But I am rather inclined to think that Malaya Varma Deva must have dispossessed the Parihárs, and that he was shortly afterwards ejected by Cháhada Deva, who was most probably the founder of a new dynasty, as the genealogy of the family opens with his name. Cháhada was succeeded by his son Asala Deva. His money also is common. I found his name on a Sati pillar at Rai, near Kulháras, S 1327 or A.D. 1270, during the reign of *Sri-mat Asalla Deva*. From all these various sources the chronology of this Narwar dynasty may be arranged with considerable precision, although the dates of accession cannot be exactly determined—1 Cháhada Deva, A.D. 1238—1254 2 Asala Deva, A.D. 1254—1279 3 Gopála, A.D. 1279—1291 4 Ganapati, A.D. 1291—1298. As no coins of the last two princes have yet been discovered, I infer that they must have been made tributary by the Muhammadan kings of Dehli."—Arch. Report, 1864-5, p. 30. See also General Cunningham's "Coins of the nine Nágas, and two other dynasties of Narwar and Gwalior"—J. A. S. Bengal, vol. xxiv (1865), p. 116

and other similar expressions,¹ showing that he was the recognized leader and lord paramount of the Hindu princes of central India, struggling to preserve their kingdoms from the foreign invader. The term *أحاری* is susceptible of two interpretations, the one as the correspondent of *आचार्य*

‘و بوقت مراجعت رانۀ احار که حاهر نام بود سر راه لشکر اسلام
(A.H. 632, A.D. 1234 p. 240) بگرفت

در وقت مراجعت ار کالکرمممر لشکر اسلام بدین رانۀ احاری
بود می الحمله انس رانۀ سر راه لشکر اسلام در مصائق ار آب سدی
[The Sindhu of Narwar, A.H. 632] [Nusrat ud din

آں هندوکٹ احاری چان بر من
الحمله کرد که گوئی گرگی اسب که رمنۀ گوسعدان می آمد (p. 297)
العجمان بالشکرهای سسار بطرف رسیور و نصب کوه پایۀ مسوات و
بلاد باهر [حاهر] دیو که دررگترین رانان هندوسان بود نامرد شد
A.H. 646, A.D. 1248 p. 292

و در آن سمرتتا بردنک مالوه برفتند و حاهر احار که دررگترین رانگان
آن بلاد و نقاع بود بقدر پیکرار سوار و دولک پاده داشت مسرم
گشت و قلعه بلور [برور] که عمارت کرده بود فتح شد و بس گشت
A.H. 649 A.D. 1251, p. 215

حاهر احاری را که رانۀ سس شگرف (A.H. 649, p. 296) و این
رانۀ احاری که حاهر نام بود مردی دس حلد و کاردار
سلطان سعید شمس الدین طاب ثراه در سال ۳۸۰
348-366, in. 76

ستمایه (p. 296). این حکایت صحیح است آن او،
No. 14 and 11 others —Cunningham

A'chāra, "established custom, usage," the other, and more probable meaning, as आचार्य *Acharyya*, "A spiritual guide," under the vernacular variants of *Achary* اचारح and *A'chara*. We know that many of the chiefs of these Rajput tribes

روشن گردد که شہامت و حیاگیری العجائ (A H 649, A D 1261)
معظم تاجہ اندازہ ہوں کہ اس جس حصی را مقبور و مسرم گرداند
و قلعه برور [برور] را کہ حص نامدار است ار دست تصرف او
سروں کرد p 297

و رای رتہور ناصر [حاجر] دیو کہ اعظم رایان و اصل و نزرگترین
ملوک ہند است لشکر کشد (A H 651, A D 1263) . [العجائ]
تمامت آن لشکر رای حاجر دیورا اگرچہ بس اسوہ و نا صلاح و اسب
بودند مسرم گرداند p 299 Calcutta text

Also Elliot's *Historians*, ii pp 351, note 1, 366, 370

The *Tārīkh : Muḥ'arak Shāhi*, compiled circa A H 838, which closely follows *Mubāy us Sirāj*, in the epitome of the earlier reigns of the Sultans of Dehl, in giving its version of the encounter with Chāhar Deva, speaks of him as

ہر حادیو لیس کہ معظم ترین کفار اس دیار ہوں

The other Rājās from Prithvi downwards, are merely described severally as
مالک, صانت, or رای

⁴ In the very early periods, the princes of the Solar line, like the Egyptians and Romans, combined the offices of the priesthood with kingly power and this whether Brahmanical or Buddhist and in ancient sculpture and drawings the head is as often adorned with the braided lock of the ascetic as with the diadem of royalty (even now the Rana of Méwar mingles spiritual duties with those of royalty, and when he attends the temple performs himself all the offices of high priest of the day) Tod : 27, 582 — *Edj Rdjeswara*, title of prince of Marwar, Rāj Rāj Indra of Amber, ii. 137 — Rawal, title of the prince of Jessulmér ii pp 249, 277 — Ranas of Méwar deputed or Vicegerents of Siva, i. 517 — Rana of Méwar, heir to the throne of Rama called *Hindua Sooraj*, or Sun of the Hindus, i. 211, 232 — The *Achāra* however, may by some sort of possibility stand for *Acharya*, a term derived from *Ahar* in Oodipur, i pp 213 216

in later days affected hierarchal honours, calling themselves *Mahants*, etc., and the famous Samarsī was designated as the "Regent of Mahādeva"¹

The coins described below illustrate—1, The independent position of Chahar Deva as *Malārāja Adhirāja*, 2, His concession of supremacy to Altamsh, 3, The establishment of Altamsh's generals in Ajmīr and 4, The contrast in the orthography of the Dehli coins of that Sultān, and the transmutation of the name current in Rajputāna

COINS OF CHAHAR DEVA as paramount Sovereign

No 39 SC (copper in excess) Weight 50 grs A.A. xix. 16

HORSEMAN

BULL.

श्री चाहड देव

असावरी श्री समन्तदेव

Srī Chāhada Deva

Asāvarī Srī Samanta Deva

CHAHAR DEVA as Tributary to Shams ud dīn Altamsh?

No 40 SC (copper predominates) Weight, 48 grs (No 15 pl 1)

Ariana Antiqua xix. 31 34 37 Prinsep's Essays pl xxvi 31

HORSEMAN

BULL.

श्री चाहड देव

असावरी श्री समसोरल देव

Srī Chāhada Deva

Asāvarī Srī Samasorala Deva

ALTAMSH'S own proper Coins struck at Ajmīr?

No 41 SC (of inferior value) Weight 50 grs

Prinsep's Essays i p 333

HORSEMAN

BULL.

श्री हमीर

श्री समसोरल देव

Srī Hamīrah

Srī Samasorala Deva

¹ Tod, i 257 Minhāj us Sirāj at p 149, Calcutta text, speaking of Lakhmanish of Bengal, uses a curious expression in regard to his position as Khahfa. رحاندان ایشان را یان همد بزرگ داشدی و بمربل جلعده همد
شمرندی Inter alia see notice of Achārj Malā Bhadur, Elliot, ii 547

ALTAMSH's Imperial Delhi Coins

No 42 S C Weight, 48 grs (No 16, pl 1)

Samvat 1288=A D 1231=A H 629

Ariana Antiqua, xix. 32, xx 3 Prinsep's Essays xxvi 34, 39, 41

HORSEMAN

BULL.

स्री हमीर

सुरिताण स्री समसदिण

Sri Hamīrah

Suritan Sri Samasadin

On the side of the Bull, १२८८

These issues vary materially in the intrinsic value of the different pieces ranging from nearly pure silver to copper, with a mere trace of the higher metal

The legends on these coins differ occasionally in the definition of the Hindi version of the Sultan's name and titles some specimens have सुरिताण स्री समस दिण *Suritan Sri Samasa din*, and occasionally दीण *din* Among other peculiarities, coins with these latter legends insert what are apparently dates, under the hump of the recumbent Bull The isolated numbers hitherto observed extend only to ४ = 4 and ६ = 6, which may be supposed to indicate the years of the reign The practice of introducing the full Samvat date, in the available spaces in the general outline of the *Tughra* device, seems to have been an amplification of this preliminary modification of the old Hindu symbols and their ultimate elaboration into numeral dates, as above given

The subordinate die modifications peculiar to the epochal and geographical ramifications of the ancient device of the Hindu kings of Kabul are otherwise interesting, and may lead, under closer and more exact observation, to an improved classification of the different mintages In the strictly initial section of these issues, comprising the *silver* money, the symbol on the Bull of Siva is confined to his own special trident or *trisu* Anangapāla introduces a sword or club in place of the trident (Ariana Antiqua, xix 15, Prinsep's

Essays, pl xxv figs 14, 15), and at times resorts to a four petalled flower (J R A S ix 9) Madana Pala retains the *trisul* but slightly altered (xxv 16), though in other cases he varies the device (xxvi 27), and in one instance reverts to the best form of the old Brahman *trisul* (J R A.S ix fig 13), with the exceptional adjunct of a clearly defined $२=२$.¹ Prithvi Rāja and Chahar Deva admit of a further alteration, and the ancient trident assumes almost the form of an opening flower (xxv 21 30, 31) Muhammad bin Sām, without rejecting the modernised form of the old symbol, in some cases affects a rose like flower similar to that employed by Ananga (xxv 20)

One of the most instructive exemplifications of the then prevailing system of adoption, or assimilation of local types is afforded by another mintage of Altamsh's, of earlier date, which is directly identified with the capture of Rantambhor, in A H 625 (*Samrat* 1283 = A D 1226), from Chahar Deva's predecessor, *Malaya Varmma Dera* (A D 1210-1235).¹ The obvious imitation of the style and arrangement of the legends of the local (Narwar?) money may be traced on the *Hindi* face of the Indo Muhammadan pieces, and the substitution of *GHAZNAVI Persian* legends for the imperfect design of the typical horseman of the Kabul Brahmans, in conventional use in the patrimonial states of the *Mahoba Varmma* dynasty is also suggestive, and, taken in connection with the fact that this new issue was not sustained beyond the single annual date now quoted, would seem to show that the exceptional currency was designed to mark the event of

¹ General Cunningham J.A.S. Bengal vol. xxxiv (1865) p 127 and Archaeological Report 1864-5 p 20 [The name is not given in any historical account the identity of the owner of the fortress is assumed from the connection established by the coins]

the conquest of the celebrated Hindu stronghold, so vauntingly reported by the contemporary historian.¹ in short, we may fairly infer that the coinage in question was intended as a kind of Numismatic *Fateh Namah*, or "announcement of victory," its superscriptions, couched in the conjoined languages and alphabets of conquerors and conquered, were made more emphatically to point to the epoch of the surrender, by the repetition of the date, in the eras special to either nationality. These stamped manifestoes of the new lords of the soil penetrated more readily throughout the land, and brought home to the comprehensions of the primitive races, among whom they were designed to circulate, the actual change in the ruling power, far more effectively than elaborate proclamations by sound of trumpet or beat of drum, which would have secured a short lived and less abiding expression of triumph.

One of the peculiarities of this issue, which also gives it an independent value, is that it furnishes the single instance, in the entire range of Altamsh's Kufic or Persian coins and

و در شبور سه ثلث و عشرين و ستمانه عزيمت فتح قلعه رتپور
مستم برمود و آن قلعه در حصاست و مسامت و استحکام در تمام
ممالک هندوستان مذکور و مشهور است و در تواریخ اهل هند
چس آورده اند که هفتاد و اند بادشاه پای آن قلعه امدد بودند
و هیچ یکی را فتح آن حصار مسر شد بعد از مدت چند ماه در
شور ثلث و عشرين و ستمانه بردست بدگان او فصل آفریدگار

فتح شد Tabukāt-i Nāsiri, 142

Elhot's *Historians*, ii 324, Ferishtah (Briggs), i p 210, Elphinstone (edit 1866) p 374. See also note to coin of Shīr Shāh, from the same mint, *infra*, for a description of the fortress itself.

inscriptions, of a counterpart definition of his original *Turki* name, the correct expression of which is still undetermined, and though the Hindi version may carry but little positive authority in the matter, it gives us probably the pronunciation as orally delivered by his *Turki* officials to the *Indian* Pandits who transliterated the name for the local die engravers.

Malaya Varmma Deva, of Kālinjar, *Naricar*, etc. ?

No 43 Silver and copper Weight, 50 to 56 grs *Samvat*,
1282=A D 1225¹

Prinsep's Essays, pl xxv fig 17, Journ As Soc Bengal, 1865,
pl xviii figs 25, 26, p 126



श्री मल्ल
लय वर्म्म
देव सं १२

*Sri Mat Malaya
Varmma Deva
Samvat* 12

A
crudely executed
figure of the
Kabul horseman

Shams ud dīn Altamsh, on the conquest of Rantambhor ?

No 44 Silver and copper Weight, 53 grs *Samvat*, 1283

Cháhara Deva Narwar Coins ?

No 45 Silver and copper Weight, 50 to 59 grs

Samvat, 1303¹=A D 1246

Engravings, J A S Bengal, 1865, pl xviii figs 27, 28, p 126

Figure of the
horseman,
scarcely recognisable

श्री मत्चा
ड देव
सं १३०३

Sri Mat Cháhara Deva
Samvat, 1303

No 46 New variety Silver and copper Weight, 50 grs
My cabinet

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم السمس السلطان

Reverse—Horseman, as in Muhammad bin Sam's coin, No 5, pl 1

No 47 Silver and copper Weight, 46 grs Common
No 17, pl 1

Obverse—شمس الدنيا والدين السمس

Reverse—श्री हमीर: Sri Hammirah Horseman

No 48 Silver and copper Weight, 53 grs Common
No 18, pl 1

Obverse—شمس الدنيا والدين ايلسمش السلطان

Reverse—श्री हमीर Sri Hammirah Horseman

دل

Obverse—Copper Weight, 44 grs Rare Multan
square area, within a circle, with a dotted margin

No

عدل السلطان

Area, as in No 19, pl 1, ضرب ملتان

¹ Other dates range on down to S 1311

G Inscription on the Upper Circlet of the Second Story of the Minaret

السلطان الاعظم شهباشاه المعظم مالک رقاب الامم معجر ملوک
العرب و العجم ظل الله فی العالم شمس الدسا و الدین عات
الاسلام و المسلمین نایح الملوک و السلاطین نایط العدل فی العالمین
علا الدولة القاهرة خلال الملة القاهرة المویده من السماء المطر علی
الاعداء شهاب سماء الخلافة نایط العدل و الرأفة معجر معالک الدسا
و مطر کلمة الله العلما أبو المطر ایلتمش السلطانی ناصر امر
المومنین حلد الله ملکه و سلطانه و اعلی امره و شاه

H On the third story over the doorway, and on one of the bands, similar laudatory titles are repeated, with the addition of *یمس الخلافة* and other minor variations, and finally the epigraph (1) over the doorway of the fourth story attributes the entire structure (with obvious error) to the time of Altamsh. The modification of his titles and designations alone would indicate the deferred execution of this inscription.

امرده العماره فی ایام الدولة السلطان الاعظم شهباشاه المعظم
مالک رقاب الامم مولی ملوک الترتک و العرب و العجم شمس الدسا
و الدین معر الاسلام و المسلمین دوالام و الامان وارث ملک
سلیمان أبو المطر ایلتمش السلطان ناصر امر المومنین

I Inscription of Altamsh on one of the centre arches at the Kutb, date A H 629

J There is also an imperfect inscription of Altamsh on the lower belt of one of the minarets of the mosque at Ajmīr. Gen Cunningham gives the following as the still legible portion

سلطان السلاطین الشرق أبو المطر ایلتمش السلطانی ناصر امر المومنین

Archaeological Report, 1864-5, p. 9.—The Emperor Babur has preserved a notice of an inscription of Altamsh which he saw on the gate of the *Uradh* at Gwalior, dated A H 630 (Erskine, p. 384, Arch. Rep. 1864, p. 66)

Násir-ud dín Mahmúd Sháh, heir apparent of Altamsh

(See p 45, *supra*)

No 60 Silver Weight, 163 1 grs Unique British Museum



OBVERSE

السلطان الأعظم
ناصر الدين
أبو المظفر محمود
شاه بن سلطان



REVERSE

في عهد الامام
المستحضر بالله امر
المومنين له

• Margin, illegible

The incidental details of the legends restrict the assignment of this piece to one of *two* individuals, the eldest or the youngest son of Altamsh, the latter of whom was authoritatively designated by the identical name and title of Násir-ud dín Mahmúd,¹ in 626 A H, after the decease of his brother, the cherished heir apparent to the newly-established Muslim empire in the East. The introduction of the formula, "during the reign of (the Khalif) Al Mos-

¹ سلطان اسم ناصر الدين محمود حامي وراثت اسم و نسب او است

p 201 و نام پسر متر مستحضر گردايد و . Tabakati N. 1, p 191

tansir billah," on the reverse, limits the ultimate date of the possible issue of the coin, not so much to the fifth month of the year A H 640, when that Pontiff died, but with clear local effect to A H 641, when the knowledge of his death was officially declared by the substitution of a new name in the muntages of the capital of Hindustán¹

The younger son, who was destined eventually to succeed to the throne of his father at Dehli, in A H 644, after the intervening reigns of Rukn ud dīn Firuz Sháh, Ruziah, Mu'izz ud-dīn Bahráw Sháh, and Alá ud dīn Mas'áw Sháh, in all however, extending only over a space of eleven years posterior to the death of Altamsh, must, under these conditions, have been but of tender years, and, though, at this juncture, promoted to the titular honours of an elder brother, in no position to exercise authority in his own person, and still less likely to have had medallic tribute paid to him by his father, should such motives be suggested in reference to the unique specimen under review. To the first born, Násir ud dīn Mahmud, no such objections apply. He was very early invested by his sire with the administration of the important government of Lahor, and in A H 623 advanced to the higher charge of the dependencies of Oudh, from which *quasi* outpost he was called upon to proceed against Hisam ud dīn 'Awz (No 4 in the list of Governors, p 8), who had already achieved a very complete independence in the province of Bengal. Here his arms were fortuitously, but not the less effectually successful so that he had honours thrust upon him even to the Red Umbrella and its attendant dignities,² whatever the exact

¹ Silver coins of Alá ud-dīn Mas'áw, *infra*

² His title is usually limited by Minháj us Siráj to ملك (pp 177, 181 201) but on one occasion سلطان crops out incidentally in the Court list, where, in his place among the sons of the Emperor Altamsh, he is so designated (p 178)

measure of power these heraldic insignia carried with them. He was, moreover, specially associated with the Pontifical recognition of the Indian empire, and was permitted to share the *Khiṭats* (or robes of investiture) forwarded on the occasion from Baghdad.

I should prefer, therefore, to attribute the issue of this piece to the close of his career: the lowest range of the date, as its legend declares in indirect terms, is antecedent to 641 A.H., but the technical and manipulative treatment of the crude Kufic epigraph brings it into close connexion with many of the introductory specimens of the Imperial Mint, and the tenor of the legend equally removes it from the terms of the later phraseology imported into the Dehli series. We have seen that there was some confusion as to the correct orthography of the name of the Khalif on the coins of Altamsh (Nos. 29, 30), in the irregular addition of *بأمر الله* and *بأله* to the name of Mustanşir; but the introductory coin No. 28 defines the title simply as *المستنصر أمير المؤمنين* "*Al Mustanşir, Commander of the Faithful*," a definition which is adhered to on the money of Rizîah and her successors. In this particular the present specimen follows the exceptional example of some of Altamsh's coins, No. 30, and appends to the name the ultimately discarded *بأله*. The imperfect arrangement of the legend, necessitating a filling-in of the vacant space, at the conclusion of the ordinary sentence, with an extraneous word, also identifies the piece with Altamsh's tentative issues, and the caligraphic conjunction of the initial *l alif* with the body of the succeeding *lâm* in *الإمام* indicates the teaching of a similar school of die engravers, which is rendered more marked by the insertion of so many short vowels, a practice which was not long persevered in.

The adjunct of "Sháh" after the name of the prince,¹ and the abstinence from the use of the title of *Sultán* at this point, is suggestive, as also is the tenor of the final *بن سلطان* in lieu of the imperial *بن السلطان*, which may possibly refer to the still current employment of the simple *سلطان* of the days of his more humble pretensions, to be seen on so many of the father's coins, pl i. figs. 20, 23.

ALTAMSH'S ALIEN CONTEMPORARIES ON INDIAN SOIL

The alien intruders upon Indian territories, whether kings or generals, who have left numismatic evidence of their presence in or near the dominions of Altamsh, number no less than seven.² Their careers can scarcely be made to follow

¹ Násir ud din Mahmúd, the second son of the then ruling Emperor, is called by his own special biographer, Minháj us Siráj,

سلطان المعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين محمود بن السلطان

(pp 9, 177, 178, 201, etc), which is in contrast to the nominal adjunct so constant with his predecessors, Firúz Sháh, Bahrám Sháh, Mas'úd Sháh. On one occasion only does the additional Sháh appear in a substituted list of Altamsh's court (p 178), where the text gives—1 Sultán Násir ud din . 2 Sultán Násir ud din Mahmúd, and at the end, after the name of Rukn ud din Firúz Sháh, comes "Násir ud-din Mahmúd Sháh"

² William Erskine, in his latest work on "Báber and Humáyún" (London 1854), gives a summary of the various Mongol and Túrki tribes, and their early seats which has an important bearing on the successive invasions of India.

"The tribes which we include under the name of Tatar (properly 'Tátár'), consist chiefly of three great divisions or races, all differing from each other in manners, institutions, and language 1. The Tunguses and Manchús in the east of Asia, north of China 2 The Mongols, or, as they are called by the Persians and Indians, the Moghuls, who occupy chiefly the middle portion north of Tibet, nearly as far west as Terfán, and part of the desert between that and Yaik, and 3 The Túrks, who for many centuries have possessed large regions that extend on the west of the Mongols from the desert of Kobi, having for their southern boundary the mountains of Káshghar and Pámer, Khorásán, the Caspian and Black Sea, the Don and Wolga on the west, and Siberia on the north But some few tribes, both of Mongols and of Túrks, are to be found in the limits thus

any very exact sequence, but the general order of their action on the history of Hindustán will perhaps be sufficiently preserved in the arrangement now adopted

- I Taj ud dín Ilduz, already noticed, p 24
- II Alá ud-dín Muhammad *Khárizmí*
- III Jalál ud dín Mankbarnín
- IV Changíz Khán
- V. Hasan Karlagh
- VI Uzbek Pat
- VII Násir ud dín Kubachah of Sindh

The dynasty of the Kharizmian kings, from their first dawn of independence to their last scion, the heroic Jalál ud-dín, is as follows —

	A D	COMMENCED A D
1 Kutb-ud-dín Muhammad bin Anushtagan,	491	9th Dec 1097
2 Jalál ud dín Atsız (اسر)	521	17th Jan 1127
3 Táj ud dín Il Arslan (ایل ارسلان) bin Atsız,	551	25th Feb 1156
4 Sultan Sháh bin Il Arslan	567	4th Sept 1172
5 Ala ud dín <i>Abu l Mu-affar</i> Takash bin Il Arslán	589	7th Jan 1193
6 Alá ud dín <i>Abu l Fath</i> Muhammad, bin Takash	596	23rd Oct 1199
7 Jalál ud dín Mankbarnín, bin Ala ud-dín Muhammad	617	8th Mar 1220

marked out as peculiarly belonging to their respective ranges The Túrks are the most extensive and numerous of the three races (vol. i p 9 10)

Alá ud-dín's troops were chiefly Túrkmáns and Cancalis (D Ohsson, i 196 Price, ii. 405)

Changíz Khán's grand army was a mixed assemblage of many tribes and races The Tátar tribe formed the advance (Erskine i. p 534)

Saif ud-dín Aghrak's forces, during his governorship of Pesháwar in 617 A H were composed of Khouloudjes (Arabs) and Túrkmáns. Yamin Malik's troops, the same period, were Túrks "Cancalis" —D Ohsson, i 299, 300 303

Ibn Asir *Admál Al-tawdríká*, Tornberg's Arabic text, p 103 Fréhn Num. Muham. 145 and Opuscula postum, by Dorn, 1855 pp 58, 252 Price, Mahomedan Hist ii p 389 Petis de la Croix

Coins of *Ala ud din Muhammad bin Takhsh*No 61 Gold Weight, 65 grs size, 6 Ghazni A H 623¹

India Museum Similar to Muhammad bin Sam's coin No 1

Frähn Recensio pp 145, 595 Ariana Antiqua pl xx fig 28

لا اله الا الله

محمد رسول الله

الناصر لدين الله

امير المؤمنين

Margin—Kurán Surah ix 33,
and lxi 9

السلطان الاعظم

علا الدنا والدين

اسو الفتح محمد

بن السلطان

Margin—سم الله صرب

هذا الدنار بلدة عرب في شهور

سه ثلاث عشرة وستمايه

The silver coins of this Sultán of which there are three varieties of types scarcely affect the series of Indian issues beyond the monogrammatic record of the ancient Mint of Perwan² whose proximate silver mines contributed so much to the currencies of the south. The mixed silver and copper coins on the other hand are strangely identified with the early traditions of the Kábul Brahmans and show how firmly

¹ Other dates Ghazni 614 616 617 A H Badakhshán (undated) J R A S xv ii 20^a

² Perwán lat. 35° 9 long 69° 16 J R A S ix p 381 and pp 257 301 2-3 xvii pp 184 186 200 201 Between Járiána and Panjhir are the mines of ore, in which the people dwell without gardens, orchards or tilled lands — Ouseley p 225 Erskine & Baber pp 139 146 Masson i 166

Yáqút gives more full information as to the produce of these mines 'L'argent y est dit-on, si abondant qu'une seule botte de légumes coûte un drachme. La mine est au sommet d'une montagne qui domine la ville et cette montagne a force d'avoir été creusée, ressemble à une vaste caverne — La Perse M B de Meynard. Paris 1861 p 116

the dominant heraldic device held its own, both among their own home tribes for succeeding generations, and equally received acceptance from so many foreign invaders of the soil

No 62 Copper Weight, 68 grs

OBVERSE

Horseman in *Tughra*, to the left

Legend arranged in vacant corners of the general device

السلطان الاعظم علا الدسا والدين



REVERSE

Bull in *Tughra*

ابوالفتح

محمد بن

السلطان

Some specimens have outer margins with *بسم الله*, etc

No 63 Variety No 10, plate and No 56, page 203, J R A S
xvii, Prinsep's Essays, pl xxxiii. fig 2

Obverse—Horseman in *Tughra*

Reverse—Full front face in *Tughra*

The palpable and obvious legends usually inserted in the vacant spaces around the leading device are seemingly omitted in this specimen, but on closer examination the flowing lines of the figure of the Horseman are seen to be composed of crypto-writing, arranged with considerable skill, so that an ordinary observer would scarcely detect the departure from the standard design of the earlier muntages. It is more difficult, however, to say what is and what is *not* designed to be conveyed in this elaborate monogram,¹ but I fancy that I am

¹ These cyphers or monogrammatic enigmas found much favour with the Türks as may be seen in the Ottoman Sultán's complicated *Tughras* composing the ordinary central device of the currency of Constantinople. The earliest example, in this series is that of Urukhan bin Usman A H 726 (Marsden No 379). The *Tughra* or monogram of سليمان بن ابراهيم خان (A H 1099) is described by Marsden "as produced by a fanciful distortion of the characters that express the name (p 404)

able to trace a considerable portion of the authorized Muham-
madan *Kalimah* محمد رسول الله¹

On the reverse is to be seen a most eccentric Chinese-
looking pattern, which resolves itself, on examination, into a
full-front human face. The Arabic word عدل occupies the
vacant space on the forehead, while the eyebrows, nose, and
cheek-bones are formed after the composite design of a strung
bow, with the arrow in position pointing downwards, its
forked point representing the nostrils. Two simple dots be-
low the bow-string, one on either side of the arrow, answer-
ing for the eyes, complete the picture. Traces of Kufic

¹ My comments, in 1858, on a parallel piece, were to the following effect —

"In the absence of the coin itself, it would be rash to speculate upon the true
purport of this obverse, or the tenor or language of the partially-visible legend.
The reverse figure of the horseman, however, offers tempting material for the
exercise of analytical ingenuity

"That the lines of which the device is composed were originally designed to
convey, in more or less intelligible cypher, some Moslem formula, there can be
little question. How much latitude in the definite expression of the letters was
conceded to the needful artistic assimilation to the normal type, it may be difficult
to say. But, though I should hesitate to pretend that my eye could follow the
several letters of the full *Kalimah* of محمد رسول الله, I have no doubt that
those words are covertly embodied in the lines forming portions of the general
outline. The Kufic محمد is palpable, when reading upwards from the front of
the butt end of the spear, portions of the رسول may be traced along the spear
itself, and the rest may be imagined under the reasonable latitude already claimed,
and, lastly, the الله may be conceded in virtue of its very obvious final له, which
appears over the horse's hind-quarters

"The practice of reticulating words and names into device embellishments for
the coinage was in high favour with the Sāmāni mint-masters, and we have nume-
rous instances of a similar tendency among the Muhammadan races who succeeded
to much of the civilization of the Bukhārā empire, with the modified boundaries
or altered seats of government, incident to their progress towards the richer pro-
vinces of the south. To confine myself to a single exemplification, however, I
may cite the Ghaznavi (Lāhor) currency, with the recumbent Bull in Tughra on
the obverse, and with a Kufic legend on the reverse. In the lines of this ancient
and revered Hindū device may here be read, in all facility and in two several
directions, the name of the prophet of the Arabs, محمد"—Prinsep's *Essays*,
pl. xxiii. fig. 2

writing are to be seen on the margin outside the square frame which encompasses the face.

No. 64. Silver and Copper.¹ Weight, 49 grs.

For engraving, see *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xx. fig. 4.

OBVERSE.

No device.

Legend in a square area.

السلطان الا

عظم بكندر

النشاني

REVERSE.

Bull in *Tughra*, much debased, and similar in outline to the Pesháwar coins of Muhammad bin Sám (No. 12).

Traces of Hindi letters at the top सभ? at the foot एला?

No. 65. Copper.

OBVERSE.

السلطان

الاعظم ابو

الفتح محمد

REVERSE.

The Kurman style of Bull, with the word كرمان inscribed on its side.

No. 66. Variety, with the Mint كerman introduced below the Bull.

No. 67. Silver and copper.

OBVERSE.

No device

Legend within a square.

السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا والدين

REVERSE.

Horseman, to the left.

محمد بن السلطان

Below the horse تكش

No. 68 Silver and copper

Weight, 53 grs.

OBVERSE,

as in No. 67.



REVERSE.

Horseman to the right.

محمد بن السلطان

In a line with the spear ساميان

¹ 606 A. H. "On inséra dans son monogramme (Tougra), à la suite de son nom, l'épithète d'ombre de Dieu sur la terre, et l'on voulut, selon la coutume, ajouter à ses titres celui de second Alexandre. Il préféra le surnom de Sindjar, qui lui parut de meilleur augure, parce que le prince seldjoukide avait régné quarante-un ans."—D'Ohsson, i. 182.

No. 69. Silver and copper Small coin, Dehliwal form

OBVERSE

السلطان
علاء الدين
الدين سكر
الثاني

REVERSE.

The usual Indian type of
Horseman to the right.
Traces of स्त्री हमीरः

No 70 Variety, in copper. Engraved as No. 8, pl xx
Ariana Antiqua

Other varieties of Alá-ud-dín Muhammad's coinage, to which it is unnecessary to refer in detail, bear the names of the mints of زمين داور *Zamindáwar*, هرات *Hirát*, پشاور *Parshor* (Pesháwar), طالقان *Táhkán*, and سفورقان *Sufürkán* (Shubbergán). See J.R.A.S. xvii. p. 203, etc."

Coins of Jalál-ud-dín Mankbarnin.¹

No 71. Silver Weight, 47 grs Unique. Masson collection
E I. Museum.

OBVERSE.

حلال الدنيا
والدين مكرن
بن السلطان

REVERSE

النصار
لدين الله
امير المومنين

¹ Almost all the Oriental authorities concur in writing this name as *Mankbarnin* and D Ohsson explains its meaning under that transcription as *Mangou*, "l'éternel," *biré ou verdé*, "donné."—Dieu-donné, i. 195 The final consonant, in the name, on this coin is absolutely identical in form with the terminal letters of دين, and the المومنين and سلطان. There are, however, no dots, and the last syllable directionally be intended for نى *ni*, which compromise I have adopted throughout pl xxxiii. fig

No. 72. Silver and copper. Weight, 45 grs. Rare.

OBVERSE—Horseman to the left, in broad lines.

REVERSE—Legend in square Monumental Kufic

No. 73. Silver and copper. Weight, 44 grs.

OBVERSE—Horseman to the left, treated more after the Indian style.

Traces of श्री, etc.

REVERSE—In ordinary Persian letters,

السلطان الاعظم جلال الدنيا والدين

Coins of Jalál-ud-dín Mankbarnin (minted in India).

No. 74. Silver and Copper. Weight, 54 grs.

Horseman.

Bull.

श्री हमीरः

श्री जलालदी

Sri Hamirah.

Sri Jaláladin.

N.B.—I had some doubts, in early days, as to whether these coins should be preferably attributed to *Rislah*, Jalál-ud-dín *Firúz*, or to Jalál-ud-dín *Khárizm Sháh*. I have now definitively fixed upon the latter assignment on more exact Palæographic grounds, in addition to the arguments already brought forward against the claim of *Firúz* upon the typical evidence.—*Patán Sultáns*, 1st edition, p. 30.

No. 75. Copper.

OBVERSE.

REVERSE.

السلطان

منكبرن

الاعظم

بن السلطان

OBVERSE—Dotted margin within double lines.

REVERSE—Dotted margin inside a single circle.

Coins of Changiz Khán.

No. 76. Silver. Weight, 47 grs. Rare. India Museum.

العدل

الناصر

الاعظم

لدين الله

جنكز خان

امير المؤمنين



No 77. Silver and copper. Weight, 63 grs.

(Similar in treatment.)

عدل

خاقان

الاعظم

Same legend

No 78. Copper. Kurmán.

عدل خاقان

المعظم

كرمان

Similar legend.

The name of كرمán is written in precisely the same combined form as that in use on the later coins of Alá-ud-dín; that is to say, with the end of the ر run into the succeeding م.

Saif-ud-din Hasan Karlagh.

Saif-ud-din Hasan Karlagh,¹ one of the leading generals of Jalál-ud-dín Mankbarnin, was left in charge of the dependencies of Ghor and Ghazní by that Monarch on his departure

¹ Lorsque Ogouz fils de Kara-khan . . . était en guerre avec ses parents . . . il triompha de ses ennemis, conquit plusieurs pays, et devint un monarque puissant. Il convoqua, pour lors, une assemblée générale, où il témoigna sa satisfaction à ses parents, à ses officiers et à ses troupes, et donna à ceux de sa famille qui l'avaient secouru, le nom d'Oúgoz, qui veut dire, en turc, *allies, auxiliaires*. Ce nom demeura à tous leurs descendants, quoique, dans la suite, diverses circonstances leur aient fait donner des noms particuliers, comme ceux de *Corloucs, Calladjes, Kiptchacs*, etc ; mais le nom générique d'Oúgours ne leur en est pas moins resté — D Ohason (quoting the Jam'i ul Tawárikh), i. 436. On compte encore parmi les branches des Ogouzes 1, Les Oúgours, 2, les Cancalis, 3, les Kiptchacs, 4, les Corloucs, 5, les Calladjes, et 6, les Agatcheris. Ces nations turques habitaient la partie occidentale de l'Asie centrale. Le territoire de Oúgours s'étendant jusqu'aux monts Altaï, à l'est de cette chaîne on trouvait des peuples qui appartenaient, les uns, à la race turque, les autres, à la race tatare ou mongole (i. p. 423-4).

from India, en route for I'rāk, in A.H. 620.¹ He is noticed casually by Minhāj us Sirāj about the year A.H. 624, as securing his possessions from the plundering Moghuls of Oktai, by coming to terms with the invaders,² and he seems to have been able to hold his own, in an uncertain way, till A.H. 636, when the Moghul advance in force finally drove him down towards Sind and Multán.³ This occurred during the reign of Rizīah, and his eldest son seems to have been deputed to attend the court of that Queen, where he was received with distinction, and complimented with the charge of the dis-

¹ The following is the Arabic text of Abulfeda relating to Hasan Karlagh, iv 334

ولما عزم جلال الدين علي العود الي جنة العراق استأب استأب ببلوان
ازبك علي ما كان يملكه من بلاد الهند و استأب معه حسن قراق
ولقه وفا ملك وفي سنة سبع و عشرين و ستماية طرد وفا ملك
ببلوان ازبك واستولي وفاملك علي ما كان يليه الببلوان من بلاد الهند

This is the *Hassan Carrac* of Deguignes "Lorsque Djelaeddin eût appris que les Mogols avoient repassé le Gihon, il vint à Lahor dans le dessein d aller soumettre l'Eraque Il laissa dans ses nouvelles conquêtes deux officiers, Pehlevan Uzbek et Hassan Carrac, surnommé Ousapha Moulk. Ce dernier dans la suite chaasa Uzbek, et s'empara de tout ce qu'il avoit aux Indes ' (1 an 627 de l' Hegire) Book xiv p 281, vol II — D Ohsson says, "Djélal laissa à Euzbec le gouvernement de ses possessions dans l'Inde, et à Vefa-Mélik, celui des pays de Gour et de Ghazna (620 A.H.)" III. p 4

² Tabakāt i-Nāsiri (Calcutta text) p 388

ملك سيف الدين حسن قزلح رحمة الله عليه چند كرت چوں
دید كه استیلاى كهار را جز بطریق خدمت دوع نمیتوان كرد نا
ایشان بوجه خدمت پیش ناز آمد و شحكان قبول كرد

Khūdmat is here used in the sense of tribute, as in the recognised *Khūdmatāna*, etc *شحكان* is a word the derivation of which is not quite clear, but the meaning here seems to refer to "receivers" or collectors, rather than to Praetors, or "the Police," as Johnson interprets the term *شحكي*.

³ Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri, p 392.

trict of Baran (now *Bulandshahr*), shortly afterwards he disappeared, with little ceremony, and rejoined his father. Saif-ud-dín Karlagh was eventually killed, during this same year, at the siege of Multán, by a troop d'élite of Eaz-ud-dín Balban, *Kishlu Khán*, the governor of U'chh¹ and Multán, on

¹ As the town of U'chh has of late sunk into obscurity, I quote a brief account of its monuments from a description of U'ch-Sharif, in 1836, by *Munsá*: Mohan Lal —“ *U'ch*, surnamed *U'ch Sharif*, or holy *U'ch* (lat 31° 12', long 72° 3'), which, being near the junction of the united streams *Hesudrus*, *Hyphasis*, and *Hydrates*, *Acesines*, and *Hydaspes*, attracts the notice of geographers, contains numerous sepulchres of the Muhammadan saints. The oldest of all is that of *Sháh Saif ul Háqqári*. A miserable wall without the roof environs the dust of the above saint. If I write the respective names of the saints of *U'ch*, along with their incredible miracles, I fear to enlarge my remarks, however, I presume to lay before you the endeavours of my feeble pen in regard to *Sháh Siad Jalál* and his reputed descendants. He died 600 years ago, and is said to have lived to the age of 150. His tomb, which is inside a large but gloomy room, is elevated about five spans from the surface of the ground. It is a very simple building, adorned with the poor, frail and old canopy. Both of his sides have ten graves of his offspring. They are distinguished by one rising above the other, which fill the entire position of the room. None of them have any kind of inscription.

“The tomb where the body of the *Makhdúm* rests is a very poor structure, but raised about seven feet high from the ground, which is concealed by numerous other graves. There is nothing admirable in the shrine of the *Makhdúm*. Three small openings give light inside the apartment. The following Persian inscription, written on the door, presents us with the date of the *Makhdúm's* death

تاریک گشت جمله جهان بیجمال شاه

تاریخ بود هفتصد و هشتاد و پنج سال

“When the world was covered by darkness without the countenance of the *Sháh* (or *Makhdúm*) The date was 785 of the *Hijri* era.”

“The mausoleum of *Makhdúm Jahán* *Jahán Gasht* is annually visited by the pilgrims of the distant country. It is very odd that the tombs of the saints of the holy *U'ch*, who possessed such boundless reputation and respect in days of old, have been not adorned with any kind of architectural beauty, either by their posterity or believers, except that of ‘*Bibi Jind Vadi*,’ (or the lady of the long life). It is situate on the verge of a precipice, which commands the old bed of the *Punjab* rivers, and gives a romantic view. The southern part of this magnificent sepulchre has been unfortunately swept away by the late inundations. The door opens towards the East, and has a sight of the other two cupolas. They excel in material and handsomeness the others of *U'ch*, except that of ‘*Bibi Jind Vadi*.’ ‘*Bibi Jind Vadi*’ was one of the descendants of *Sháh Siad Jalál*,

the part of Riziāh. Saif-ud-dín's generals, however, having succeeded in concealing the fact of his death, were able to secure the surrender of the town.¹

Saif-ud-din Al-Hasan Karlagh.

“ No 79. *Silver*. Weight, 169·5 grs (Six specimens E. India Collection.) A.H. 633, 634.



لا اله الا الله

محمد رسول الله

المستنصر بالله

امير المؤمنين

Dotted margin

سيف

الدنيا والدين

ابو المطهر الحسن

قرلغ

هذه الدرهم في شنبور—Margin

سنة ثلث وثلثين وستماية

These coins are apparently Camp Mintages, as they bear no trace of the name of a Mint city: in their weight and general outline they seem to have been imitations of Altamsh's new currency

of whom I have already spoken. The dome in which she sleeps is erected of burnt bricks, which are cemented by mortar. The whole of the edifice is ornamented by various hues and lapis lazuli of the celebrated mines of *Badakhshan*. The size of this grand building may be estimated at about 50 feet high, and the circumference 25 ”

¹ *Tabakát-i-Násir*, p 270

No 80 Copper (or mixed copper and silver)¹

Rajput	سا
Horseman	الديسا والدس
with श्री हमोर	ابوالمطر الحس
<i>Sri Hamirah</i>	قرلع

No 81 Silver and copper Coin in the East India Collection

Rajput	(سا)
Horseman	الديسا والديس
Traces of	ابوالمطر الحس
श्री हमोर	بن محمد

If this coin is correctly attributed, it would prove that Hasan Karlagh's father's name was Muhammad

No 82 The most curious coins of Hasan Karlagh, however, are those of the "Ball and Horseman" type, with Hindi legends, which follow the model of the *Dehliwālas* of Kubāchah of Sind. The name is oddly expressed, and the letters themselves are peculiar in their forms, but I have little doubt that the correct reading of the legend is as follows

श्री हसन कुरल *Sri Hasan Kurla*

These coins, I believe, have never either been figured or published. They are common enough, as I have some six of them in my own limited collection²

¹ These are the coins entitled *Dehliwālas*, following on to the previous models of Nasir ud dīn Kubāchah of Sind—*Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xx. 19 Prinsep's *Essays* pl. xxv. 47

² After the above descriptive details of the coins of Hasan Karlagh and his son Muhammad had been set up in type I discovered that General Cunningham had already put upon record in his *Archæological Report* to the Government of

Nasir-ud din Muhammad bin Hasan Karlagh

I anticipate the due order of epochal sequence, in order to dispose of the coins of Hasan Karlagh's son in immediate connection with those of his father

India (1863-4), certain speculations upon the attribution of these pieces, which are in many respects so opposed to my own deductions as to make me desire that the General should state his case in his own words, without further comment on my part, beyond a momentary expression of dissent from the association of the Bilingual coins of *Nasir-ud-din* (Arian Ant. 432 Prinsep's Essays, i. 37, pl. u 14), with the other specimens, which, on palæographical grounds, I should be disposed to sever, both in time and locality, from the rest of the crude Sindian issues

"The first invasion of Indo Scythians must have caused a very general displacement of the ruling races. The vanquished would naturally have sought refuge in the less accessible districts around, and to this period, therefore, I would refer the settlement of the *Awans* and *Jayuhas* in the Salt Range to the south, and of the *Gahars* in the hilly tracts of Pharwala and Dāngali to the north east

"Of their subsequent history but little is recorded, we know only that they were divided into several branches, and that they had all become Muhammadans. In the time of Bāber, the ruling tribe, called the *Karluk* *Ilakras*, held the districts on both banks of the lower Sūhān River, under their chiefs Saṅgar Khān Karluk and Murza Malvī Karluk. At a still earlier period the chiefs of this tribe, Hasn Karluk and his son Muhammad, had asserted their independence by striking coins in their own names. The coins of the father are of the well known 'Bull and Horseman' type, with the legend in Nāgarī letters, '*Sri Hasan Karluk*'. The coins of the son are of three different kinds, two with Persian characters only, and the third with Persian on one side and Nāgarī on the other. On the last coin there is a rude figure of a horse surrounded by the chief's name, *Nasir ud dūnīd wa ud dīn*, in Persian letters, and on the reverse his name in three lines of Nāgarī letters, *Sri Muhammad Karluk*. On one of the Persian coins this chief calls himself *Muhammad bin Hasan Karluk* (محمّد بن حسن کارلک), and on the other he takes the titles of *ul Malik ul Muazam Muhammad bin Hasan*. From the types and general appearance of these coins their date may be fixed with certainty as coeval with those of Altamish and his sons, or from A.D. 1210 to 1265. The accuracy of this date is strongly confirmed by Ferishtah's account of the first campaign of Nāser ud-dīn Mahmūd, the youngest son of Altamish. In July, A.D. 1247, Mahmūd proceeded to Multān, and then to the bank of the Chenāb, from whence he sent his Vazīr towards the mountains of Jud and the provinces on the Indus.

According to this account, the rebellion lasted for about twelve years, from the death of Altamish, in A.D. 1230, until the close of Mahmūd's campaign in the end of 1247. It is to this period that I refer the assumption of independence by Hasan Karluk and his son Muhammad. The age of the coins, as I have observed, corresponds exactly with the date of this rebellion and the coins themselves before are found in greatest number in the rebellious districts of the mountains of Jud" (pp 8, 9)

There is little to be gathered concerning the history of Násir-ud-dín Muhammad, the son of Hasan Karlagh. He seems to have succeeded to his father's dominions in Sind, and to have been held in consideration as a powerful monarch.¹ He was still reigning on the arrival of the Ambassadors of Húlágú Khán in A H 658.²

Nasir-ud-din Muhammad bin Hasan Karlagh

No 83 Copper Weight, 53 grs Coarse Persian legends covering the entire surfaces of the coin

محمد	ناصر
بن حسن	الديار
قرع	الدين

No 84 Copper Weight, 46 grs. Small coin, with dotted margins, similar to the pieces of Jalál-ud-dín (No 47, J R A S p 383, vol ix) and Changiz Khán (p 385, *ibid*)

محمد	الملك
حسن	المعظم

Uzbeg Pal, Commandant in India, on the part of Jalál-ud-dín Mankbarnin

General Cunningham, who, in the course of his official duties, was once permanently stationed at Multán, secured, during his residence at that ancient city, among many other local curiosities, some small coins hitherto unassigned, which, in spite of a somewhat unorthodox orthography, I am in-

¹ *Tahsil-i-Sindh*, p 320

چوں ملک ناصر الدین محمد یکی از ملوک سامدار عصر بخون بود

² *Ibid* pp 316-321 See *Erskine's History of India*, p 379

clined to appropriate to Uzbek Pai,¹ the commandant associated with Hasan Karlagh on Jalâl-ud-din's departure from India. They may be described as follows:—

No. 85. Silver and copper (or copper?) Weight, 25 grs.
(2 specimens)



Circular area

یصنی

بني

"Kusbak Pai"²

Marginal legend defaced

Square area, with dotted lines
and dotted margin.

فرب

مٹان

"Struck at Multán."

SUMMARY OF THE EVENTS OF THE REIGN OF KUBÁCHAH³

A.H. 600 Appointed to the Government of Uchh by Mu'izz ud din, shortly after his defeat at Andkhod; takes possession of the entire country from Sirhind, Kohráw, and Sirsuti, to Daibal and the sea; and assumes the ensigns of royalty⁴

¹ See ante, p. 93, and Elliot's *Historians*, ii pp. 395 G, 554, 563

² یصنی for یلی "yast" = yasta-wutharrah.

³ The derivation of this name, or rather *lakab*, or nickname, is uncertain. Taking it as coming from قَمَّ, "coat, cloak, or jacket," it would mean "straw or short tunic," possibly a *postin* (پوستین), but if we are to accept the *Hind* transcription of *Kubdehah*, it would answer to "rather fat," "plump"

⁴ The *Tuhfat ul Kirám* (A.H. 1188) gives the following details regarding the tributaries of Kubáchah:—"During the reign of Arám Sháh his dominions were parcelled into four divisions—one of which, comprising Multán, the whole of Sind and Uchh, became subject to Násir-ud-din Kubáchah. At that time the following seven Ránás in Sind were tributary to Multán—1. Páná Buhvar Sáta Ráther, of Dabra, in the district of Durbela, 2. Ráná Sanir, son of Dhamáj, of the tribe of

- A H 613 Lāhor taken by Shams ud dīn Altamsh, who appoints his eldest son, Nasir ud dīn Mahmūd, to the charge Kubāchah encounters the troops of Taj-ud dīn Ilduz, and is defeated Many celebrated personages take refuge at his Court Jalal ud dīn defeated on the Indus, in Rajab, 618 A H He subsequently enters Sind, and his general,, Uzbeg Paī, overcomes Kubāchah near Uchh
- „ 621 The Mughals under *Tuli Nowān* besiege Multān for forty days
- „ 623 Army of Khiljis, under *Malik Khān Khily*, invade Mansurah and Sehwan Kubāchah routs them
- „ 624 Minhaj us Siraj, the future author of the *Tabakat-i-Nāsiri*, arrives at the Court of Kubāchah at Uchh
- „ 624 Rafī'ul awwal, Shams ud dīn, presents himself before Uchh Kubachah is besieged in the Fort of Bhakar
- „ 625 (27, Jumad ul awwal), Uchh surrenders (Jumad al Akhir), Bhakar taken Kubāchah drowns himself¹

No 86 Silver and copper, with a large proportion of silver
Weight, 50 grs

86a Silver and copper, the copper predominating Weight, 53 grs
For engravings see *Arinna Antiqua*, Prinsep's Essays, xxvi 28, 29,
Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol iv pl xxxvii 28, 29

HORSEMAN

स्री हमीरः

Sri Hamirah

Subordinate Mint mark below
the Horseman *co*

BULL.

स्री कुवाचा सुरित¹

Sri Kubācha Suritān

At times, when space will allow,
the final ण is duly inserted

Kureja Samma, residing in Tāng lying within the district of Rūpāh, 3 Jaisar, son of Jajji Māchhi Solanki, of Māniktara, 4 Wakia, son of Pannūn Channūn, who was established in the valley of Siwī, 5 Channūn, son of Dita, of the tribe of Chūrna, resident at Dhāg nai, 6 Jiya, son of Warāb, of Jham, or Hemakot, 7 Jasodhan Akra, of Min nagar district of Dāmbarwā. — *Elliot's Historians* i 310.

¹ Minhaj us Siraj, Persian text, pp. 142, etc., *Tāj ul Maāsir*, MS, *Elliot's Historians*, i 310, ii pp. 155, 201, 233, 241, 281, 302 325, 396, 554, 563, Desguignes, i 414, "Cobah", D Obason, iii 4, "Caradja"

These coins seem to be direct imitations of the original *Dehliwálas*; they vary in the apparent quality of the metal, from nearly pure silver to a very close approach to simple copper, in the same way that the composite pieces of Altamsh exemplify the prevailing system of giving effect to the gradational values of the public money, by the mere modification of the proportions of silver and copper assigned to each division of the currency, without any corresponding alteration in the weight, form, or stamp of the discriminated pieces, or any indication calculated to guide the trader beyond the mere glint and superficial touch of the coin tendered.

Kubáchah's circulating media seem to have been exclusively confined to this species of coin, which, though possibly minted according to the varying boundaries of his dominions, from Sirhind to Bhakar, are invariably termed *Dehliwálas* (دهلیوال), and evidently constituted the only coined money in ordinary use, as we find his son, 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad, presenting Altamsh with ten million Dehliwálas as a peace-offering; and when the contents of Kubáchah's treasury came to be examined by his conquerors, they are reported to have found the large sum of fifty million pieces ("500 laks") of this description of money.

No. 87. Silver and copper. Weight, 50 grs.

For illustrations see *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xx. 19; Prinsep's *Essays*, pl. xxvi. 47; *J.A.S. Bengal*, iv. pl. xxxvii. 47.

HORSEMAN.

With the local form of

स्री हमीरः

Below the Horse there is occasionally a small device, varying from O to the *star*, so frequent on the parallel *Ilduz* series.

ناصر

الدنيا والدين

قباجه

السلطان

Dotted margin.

¹ M.S. *Táj ul Maásir*; Elliot's *Historians*, ii. 242, Prinsep's *Essays*, i. 326.

The Hindī legends on these bilingual coins are marked by several peculiarities in the outlines of the letters, which remove them from eastern sites and the normal style of writing current in Dehli and Ajmīr, and associate them more directly with the proximate localities of Sīnd and the lower Punjab. The *च* *ch* is formed like a modern *च* *p*, with a dot in its centre, the *च* *ch* is similar to an ordinary Bengali *च* *b*, in which respect it accords with Cháhar Deva's Ajmīr type of the letter. The *ह* *h* in the *Hamirah* follows the fashion of the Gupta Inscription at Allahabad, and reverses the ordinary turn of the lower limb of the letter.

FIFTH KING (A H 633 634, A D 1235-1236)

Rukn ud dīn Firuz Sháh, after having been exercised in the duties of government during his father's lifetime, at Budaon (625 A H) and Lahor (630 A H), became heir apparent on the decease of his elder brother, Nasir-ud dīn Mahmud, in 626 A H, and finally succeeded to the *masnad* in Sh'aban, 633 A H. His brief reign of six months and twenty-eight days, marked only by his indulgence in low tastes and debaucheries, may be said to have been altogether barren of public events, with the exception of the various coalitions of the nobles, organized to defeat the intrigues and cruelties of the Queen Mother (Sháh Turkan), which in directly led to the Sultán's dethronement.

The Persian coins of this king are rare, engravings were given in my original work on the Pathán Kings (see pl. 1 Nos 24, 25, 26), but the attribution of the pieces was confessed to be uncertain. New examples, however, have fully confirmed the assignment then proposed, and enable me to

improve the previous reading from السلطان المعظم ركن الدين to the following, which is taken from one of Col Guthrie's coins

No 88 Silver and copper Weight, 50 grs

Horseman
With traces of
स्री हमीर
Sri Hammirah

السلطان
الاعظم ركن
الدين

The المظم of the earlier described coins is quite correct, the Sultan, like his father before him, having advanced his honorary title The imperfect rendering of ركن الدين may be authoritatively corrected into the usual الدين I am now also able to cite specimens of Rukn-ud din's *Hindi* currency

No 89 Silver and copper Weight, 51 grs Very rare
Stewart collection B M

Horseman
स्री हमीर
Sri Hammirah

Bull couchant
सुरिताय स्री रुक्म दीय
Suritan Sri Rukana din
On the *Jhāl* of the Bull ||| ?

SIXTH REIGN (A H 634-637, A D 1236-1239)

The celebrated Queen Regnant of Muhammadan India—Riziah, the daughter of Altamsh—succeeded to the possession of the capital on the fall of Shah Turkán, the mother of Rukn ud din in the third month of A H 634. The ministers at her father's court had been scandalized at the preference he had proposed to extend to a daughter, in supercession of the claims of adult male heirs to the throne, but the Sultán justified his appointment—the execution of which was, however evaded—alike on account of the demerits of his sons, and the gifts and acquirements of his daughter, who had been brought up under a degree of freedom from the seclusion enjoined for females by the more severe custom of ordinary Muslim households aided by the advantages incident to the exalted position occupied by her mother as the chief and independently domiciled wife. The sovereignty of females it must be remembered was not altogether at variance with the ideas of the semi nomad race, whose leading court in Central Asia gave a tone to the feelings of their Muslim fellow countrymen so many of whom were now domesticated in the south. From the days of Tomyris the right to govern was admittedly open to the sex, and proximate examples were offered for Indian imitation in the persons of the two princesses of Kharizm *Malika Turkan* (567 A H) and *Turkan Khatún*, the latter of whom held more absolute sway¹ than

¹ D Ohsson, f. 198 etc. The use of an independent seal and signet shows that there was no possible reserve in the claims put forth. The tenor of the legend of which has been preserved. Son monogramme (Tougra) qu'elle écrivait de sa main sur ses ordonnances se composait de ces mots *Protectrice du monde et de*

her own son, 'Alá-ud-dín, whose outposts encircled nearly half of Asia.

Rizíah's direct rise dated from the capture of the Queen Mother, so that, in effect, the transfer of dominion was from one female to another. The author of the *Tabakát-i-Násiri*, a forgiven rebel,¹ enlarges warmly upon the many merits and accomplishments of his Sovereign, lamenting, however, that all these excellencies should have been nullified by the single defect that the court chroniclers of the period were unable to return her birth in the list of males.²

After the brief reign of Rukn-ud-dín Firúz, who freely exemplified by his misconduct his father's prophetic reproach, Rizíah succeeded in establishing her supremacy, and Eastern eyes witnessed the singular spectacle of an unveiled and diademed Empress—the first in India—directing the hosts of Islám under the canopy of the immemorial regal seat on an elephant. Rizíah's early inauguration was attended with no inconsiderable danger and difficulty, arising from the opposition of the Vazír and the organized military resources of the various governors of provinces, who hesitated in conceding their allegiance. Eventually, however, to quote the expression of Minháj us Siráj, quiet was established throughout the empire, and Rizíah's sway was acknowledged from

la foi, Turkan reine des femmes de l'univers et sa devise était Dieu seul est mon refuge Elle prenait le titre de Khoudavend Dyhan ou souveraine du monde"
See also Price, II. pp 393, et seq

¹ (A II 635). "There being no possibility of resistance, this well-wisher of the victorious government, Minháj-i Siráj, together with the Chief Justice of Gwalior and others, came out of the fort and proceeded to Dehl"—Elliot's *Historians*, II. 335

² اما چون از حساب مردان در خلقت نصیب نیافته بود ایهمه

صفات گزیده چه خودش کند Ferishtah, Briggs, I. 217. Text, p 185

No 91 Silver and copper (Pl 1, Nos 28 and 29) Weight,
47 and 49 grs Very rare

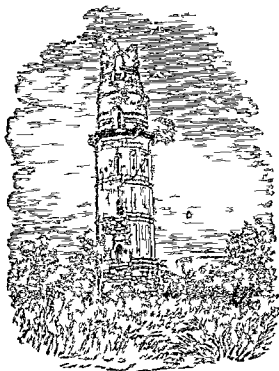
Obverse—السلطان الاعظم رصة الدنيا والدين

Reverse—Horseman and Sri Hamirah

Until lately, the term Riziah was looked upon as conveying a name and not a title. The coins above quoted appear to demonstrate the contrary to be the fact. The silver medal negatively, inasmuch as it does not give Riziah as a name, and the copper coins positively, in displaying the Riziah joined to the ud dunya, etc. The *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, in enumerating the names of Altamsh's family, designates her as سلطان رصى الدين, and heads the chapter of her biography with the same designation of السلطان رصة الدنيا والدين.

It will be remarked that the coins give the title of Sultán in the masculine gender, whereas all the rest of the Persian legend is duly couched in the feminine. This curious affectation of the superior sex in regard to her regal position accords with the accounts of Indian writers, that "changing her natural apparel" she "assumed the imperial robes." Moreover, Minhaj us Siraj generally speaks of her as بادشاه (p 195)

caustic alternative of گور="grave, which the often deserted site, under the speedy action of water and a semi tropical vegetation may have deservedly earned for it. But it is quite legitimate to infer that as गौड़ was the ancient name for central Bengal (Wilson, Glossary, *s ob voce*, Albfürni, Reinaud, Mem sur l Inde p 298) and so intimately associated with the tribal divisions of the indigenous Brahmans, that the designation originated in the popular application of the name of the country to its own metropolis, and that the town continued to be called Gaur in vernacular speech in spite of the new names so frequently bestowed upon it by its alien lords



MINARET AT GOUR, THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF BENGAL.

One of the most interesting of the antiquities of the place (Gour) is a minaret standing in the fort. For two-thirds of the height it is a polygon of twelve sides above that circular till it attains the height of 84 feet. The door is some distance from the ground and altogether it looks more like an Irish round tower than any other example known. It is evidently a pillar of victory—a *Jaya Samba*—such as the Kutub Minar at Delhi and those at Chel Dowlatabad and elsewhere. There is or was an inscription on this monument which ascribed its erecting to Firuz Shah. If this be so it must be the king of that province who reigned in Gour A.D. 1025-151 and the character of the architecture fully bears out this ascription.—Fergusson, p. 628.

THE PROVINCIAL COINAGE OF BENGAL

As Altamsh seems to have been the first to provide an imperial coinage for Hindustán so his daughter Ruziah would appear to have taken the initiative in extending the silver

¹ Initial Coinage of Bengal, 1866

currency to the kingdom of Bengal. At least, as far as can be seen, her coins, minted at Lakhnauti, are the earliest specimens extant of the provincial issues of the south.

When Muhammad bin Sâm had so far consolidated his early successes in India into a design of permanent occupancy, leaving a viceroy and generalissimo in Dehli, in the person of Kutb-ud-dîn Aibek, while his own Court was still held at Ghazni, the scattered subordinate commanders each sought to extend the frontiers of *the faith* beyond the limits already acquired. In pursuance of this accepted mission, Muhammad Bakhtiar Khilji, *Sipahsâlâr* in Oude, in A.H. 599, pushed his forces southward, and expelled, with but little effort, the ancient Hindu dynasty of Nuddeah, superseding that city as the capital, and transferring the future metropolis of Bengal to the proximate site of Lakhnauti, where he ruled undisturbed by higher authority, till his own career was prematurely cut short in A.H. 602.

Considering the then existing time-honoured system of valuations by shells¹—which would certainly not invite a

¹ Ibn Batutah gives an account of the collection of the cowrie shells in the Maldivé Islands, from whence they were exported to Bengal in exchange for rice, the gradational quantities and values are detailed as follows سیار = 100 cowries. نال = 700. کتی = 12,000 بستو = 100,000, four *bustûs* were estimated as worth one gold *dindr*, but the rate of exchange varied considerably, so that occasionally a *dindr* would purchase as many as twelve *bustûs*, or twelve lakhs of cowries (French edition, iv. p. 121; Lee's Translation, p. 178). The *Ain-i-Akbari* notices that all the accounts of Subah Orissa were kept in cowries. Gladwin's Translation, u. 15. The rates of exchange are given as follows — "4 cowries = 1 gunda, 5 gundas = 1 boory, 4 boories = 1 pun, 16 pun = khawun, (sometimes 20 puns go to a khawun), and 10 khawuns = 1 rupee." Sir H. Elliot mentions that "in India, in 1740, a rupee exchanged for 2,400 cowries, in 1756, for 2,560 cowries; and (1845) as many as 6,500 could be obtained for a rupee" (Glossary of Indian Terms, p. 373). "They were estimated in the revised currency scheme of 1833 at 6,400 per rupee" (Prinsep's Useful Tables, p. 2). Major Rennell, who was in Silet in 1767-8, speaking of the cowrie money, remarks "I found no

hasty issue of coin—Muhammad Bakhtiar's acknowledged subordination to Kutb-ud-din, who, as far as can be seen, issued no money in his own name, it may fairly be inferred that if a single piece of money was produced, it formed a part only of an occasional, or special, medallie mintage, constituting a sort of numismatic proclamation, or assertion and declaration of conquest and supremacy alone, emblazoning probably the titles of the supreme Suzerain, and purposely avoiding any needless interference with the fixed trade by adventitious monetary complications, which so unprogressive a race as the Hindus would naturally be slow to appreciate.¹

other currency of any kind in the country, and upon an occasion, when an increase in the revenue of the province was enforced, several boat loads (not less than 50 tons each) were collected and sent down the Burrampootee to Dacca." As late as 1801 the revenues of the British district of Silhet "were collected in cowries, which was also the general medium of all pecuniary transactions, and a considerable expense was then incurred by Government in effecting their conversion into bullion" (Hamilton's Hindostan, London, 1820, i p 195)

¹ The author of the *Tabakât-i-Nâsiri* has preserved some curious passages regarding the early coinages in Bengal. First he tells us, that on the conquest of the country by the Muhammadans they found *quan*-indigenous *Cowries* sufficing for all the wants of trade, in contrast to the *Jitala*, which constituted the recognized money of the neighbouring provinces of Hindustân (جسٹاں تقریر کرد کہ دران)

(p 149) زلاد کوه دعوض چیتل رواں است. Subsequently, speaking of Muhammad Bakhtiar Khulji's arrangements in his new government, he goes on to say—و بر موضعی کہ لکھنوتی است دارالملک ساخت و اطراف آن

ممالک را در تصرف آورد و خطه و سکه در هر خطه قائم کرد (p 161) . . . و اموال بسیار بخدمت سلطان قطب الدین فرستاد

The context of this passage would clearly imply that *the* coins, if any were really produced, were not issued in his own name, nor even in that of Kutb-ud-din, though in the tribute forwarded to that viceroy, he clearly acknowledges fealty. The intentional discrimination is seen in the terms of the sentence relating the assumption of independence by 'Alî Mardân, who is reported as جتر برگرفت و خطه

(p 159) باسم خود کرد, a phrase which appears indirectly to mark the arrogation of "umbrellas and public prayers," with a reserve about the numismatic symbols

This will, perhaps, be the most fitting occasion to review cursorily the rise and progress of the local coinage, and to summarize the leading features of the Bengal scheme, which has but an irregular and fitful bearing upon the Imperial currency.

The artistic merits of the produce of the southern mints, though superior in the early copies to the crude introductory issues of Altamsh, seldom compete with the contemporary design or execution of the Dehli die-cutters, and soon merge into their own provincialisms, which are progressively exaggerated in the repetition, until, at last, what with the imperfection of the model, the progressive conventionalism of the designers, and the ignorance and crude mechanical imitation of the engravers, their legends become mere semblances of intelligible writing, like Persian *shikastah*, easy to read when one can divine what is intended, but for anything like precision in obscure and nearly obliterated margins a very untrustworthy basis for the search after exact results.

The different local mints each followed its own traditions, and the school of art stood generally at a higher level in the eastern section of the kingdom, especially when Sonárgaon was held by its own independent rulers. The lowest scale of die execution, exemplified in the provincial series, was reserved for the capital of the united provinces under the kingship of Sikandar (Fírúzábád, 769 A.H.). The numismatic innovations of Muhammad bin Tughlak were felt and copied in the south, especially in the reproduction of the titular legends; but his own coins struck at the "city"—he would not call it the capital—of Lakhnauti, evince the haste of royalty. And the gradations are still more clearly defined in the acknowledgment of Altamsh by Ghíás-ud-dín 'Auz, in 622 A.H., where it is stated—
 رقبه خدمت در رقبه انقياد آورد و سي زنجيريل و هشاد لک مال
 بداد و خطبه و سکه بنام مبارک شمسي کرد
 p. 171.

and carelessness of a temporary sojourn, and, still worse, the hand of a local artist, both which short-comings may be forgiven to a monarch who, in his own imperial metropolis, had raised the standard of the beauties of Arabic writing, as applied to coin legends, to a position it had never before attained, and which later improved appliances in other lands have seldom succeeded in equalling.

The Bengal Sultáns, mere imitators at first, were original in the later developments of coin illumination, and the issues of the fully independent kings exhibit a commendable variety of patterns in the die devices, damaged and restricted, however, in the general effect by the pervading coarseness and imperfection of the forms of the letters. Then, again, the tenor of the inscriptions is usually of independent conception, especially in the refusal to adopt the ever-recurring *kalimah* of the Muslim mints, and in the suggestive mutations of titles assigned to the lieutenants of the prophet on earth, whose identifications they did not seek to trace, and whose very names they did not care to learn. So also was their elaboration of the titular adjuncts of the four Imáms uninfluenced by northern formula; many of which conventionalisms survived for centuries, till Shír Sháh, in the chances of conquest, carried these traditions with him, and incorporated them into the coinage of Hindustán, during the exile of the temporarily vanquished Humáyún.

The standard of the Bengal coinage was necessarily, like the pieces themselves, a mere imitation of imperial mint quantities, and the early issues will be seen to follow closely upon the proper amount in weight contemplated in the Dehli prototypes; but one of the curious results the Kooch Behár collective find¹ determines is, that though the first kings on

¹ 13,500 pieces discovered in A D 1853 Journ R.A.S., N S., II p 145

the list clearly put forth money of full measure, their pieces were, in most cases, subjected to a well-understood Indian process of boring out, or reduction by sweating, to the exact weight to which we must suppose subsequent kings had lowered the legal standard of their money, so that, although some of the silver pieces of Kai Káus and Firuz have escaped the debaser's eye, and preserve the completeness of their original issue denomination, the great majority of the older coins have been brought down to the subsequent local standard of 166 grains, at which figure, in troy grains, the bulk of the hoard ranges, or, in more marked terms, 166 grains is the precise weight of the majority of the very latest and best preserved specimens, which must have been consigned to their recent place of concealment when very fresh from mints but little removed from the residence of the accumulator of the treasure, and may be held to represent new and clean coin which could scarcely have changed hands

The intrinsic value of the money of these Sovereigns follows next in the order of the inquiry. This department of fiscal administration might naturally have been expected to have been subject to but limited check or control, when regulated by the uncertain processes of Oriental metallurgy, but, in practice, it will be seen that some of the native mintmasters were able to secure a very high standard of purity, and, what is more remarkable, to maintain a singularly uniform scale in the rate of alloy. In the case of the imperial coins subjected to assay in Calcutta, specimens spreading over, and in so far representing a sequent fifty-six years of the issues of the northern metropolis, vary only to the extent of six grains in the thousand, or 0.6 per cent. As the Delhi coinage proves superior, in point of weight, to the southern standard, so also does it retain a higher degree of purity,

the 990 and 996 of silver to the test total of 1,000 grains, sinks, in the earliest examples of the Bengal mintage, to 989, from which figures it experiences a temporary rise, in possibly exceptional cases, under Bahádur Shah, who may be supposed to have brought down, with his reinstituted honours and the coined treasure so lavishly bestowed upon him by Muhammad bin Tughlak, on his restoration to the government of Sonárgaon, certain implied responsibilities for the equity and fulness of his currencies, while in the subsequent irregularly descending scale, 'Azam Sháh's officials arrived at the most unblushing effort of debasement, in the reduction of silver to 962 grains

Colonel Guthrie has obtained the following data from the assay of the various coins composing the Kooch Bahar hoard "When the Bengal Asiatic Society made their selection of coins from the trove, they set apart four of each description for the mint, two being for special assay, two for the mint collection The result of the assay was as follows (1,000 represents absolute purity)"

DEHLY COINS

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1 Balban (A H 664) 990 and 996 | |
| 2 Kai Kobád (A H 686) 990 and 996 | |
| 3 Ghíás ud-dín Tughlak (A H 720) 990 | |

BENGAL COINS

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 Shams ud din Firuz | 989 |
| 2 Bahádur Shah | 988 and 993 |
| 3 Mubarak Sháh | 987 |
| 4 Ghazí Shah of Bengal | 989 |
| 5 Ilias Shah (1st type) | 983, |
| | (2nd) 982, (3rd) 988 |
| 6 Sikandar Shah (return lost) | |
| 7 'Azam Sháh (1st type) | 981, |
| | (2nd) 989, (3rd) 962, (4th) |
| | 977, (5th) 985 |

A question that has frequently puzzled both Oriental and European commentators on the history of India has been the intrinsic value of the current coin at the various epochs they

had occasion to refer to, so that the most exact numerical specifications conveyed but a vague notion of the sterling sum contemplated in the recital by any given author. Numismatists have been for long past in a position to assert that the Dehli Tankah contained absolutely 173 grains, which would presuppose a theoretical issue weight of 174 or 175 grains, and a touch of nearly pure silver, but assuming this specific coin to have been a *white* or *real* 'Tankah of Silver' (سکه نقره) a doubt necessarily remained as to what was to be understood by the alternative black Tankah (سکه ساد). Nizām ud dīn Ahmad in his *Tabakāt i Akbari*, seems to assign the introduction of these black Tankahs to Muhammad bin Tughlak, who notoriously depreciated the currency to a large extent before he resorted to the extreme measure of a forced currency, though it may be doubted whether any such depreciation would have been thought of even if there had been time to effect the conversion, at the very commencement of his reign, to which period Nizām ud dīn attributes the issues of these pieces, in the apparent desire of explaining the bare possibility of the possession of such numerical amounts as are stated to have been squandered in largesses by the newly enthroned monarch. However, the real adulteration of the coin need not have extended much beyond the point indicated by the superficial aspect of his own Bengal mintages, and 'Azam Shāh's coins of the same locality probably exceed that accusatory measure of debasement, while, on the other hand Muhammad bin Tughlak on reverting to specie currencies, after his futile trial of copper tokens seems to have aimed at a restoration of the ancient purity of metal in his metropolitan issues as I shall have occasion to quote a coin of his produced by the Dehli mint in A H 734, which has every outward appearance of unalloyed silver and equally retains the fair average weight of 168 grains

All these evidences would seem to imply that the Bengal ratio of purity was intentionally lower, and that a very slight addition to the recognized alloy would bring the local issues fairly within the category of *black Tankahs*. Such a supposition of the inferiority of the coinages of the southern kingdom appears to be curiously illustrated by Báber's mentioning that, in A H 932, a portion of the revenues of the district of Tírhut, a sort of border-land of his empire which did not extend over Bengal, was payable in *Tankah Nukrah*, and the larger remainder in *Tankah Shah*,¹ an exceptional association of currencies in a given locality, which can scarcely be explained in a more simple and reasonable manner than by assuming the lower description of the conventional piece to have been concurrent with a better description of the same coin, which constituted the prevailing and authorized revenue standard of the northern portions of the Mughal conqueror's Indian dominions.

SEVENTH KING (A H 637-639, A.D. 1239-1241)

The virtual accession of Mu'izz ud din Bahram Shah dates from the defeat of Ríziyah, at Sirhind, in Ramazán 637 A H, when the party advocating his claims became supreme in the capital, and was not deferred until after her murder by the Hindus, at Kaithal, in Rabí'ul ákhir 638 A H. This reign demands but scant preliminary comment, except to mark the second instance of the correctness of Altamsh's estimate of the ineptitude of his own sons.

¹ Tírhút tribute (*sh imata ia*) of the Tírhúti Raja 700 000 silver tankas (*tankah nukrah*) and 2,700 000 black tankas (*tankah shah*) —W Erskine, Báber and Humayún, ii p 511

SUMMARY OF THE EVENTS OF THE REIGN

- A H 637 (27 Ramazan) Enthroned (11 Shawwāl) Ikhtiar ud din *Iltig* nominated Vicegerent by the nobles
- 638 (8 Muharram) Ikhtiar ud din assassinated at the instigation of the Sultan Badr ud din Sankar assumes the direction of the government
- „ 639 (8 Safar) Badr ud din's plot against the Sultan defeated, he is ordered to quit the capital General disaffection is engendered against the Sultan in consequence of his severities in checking these conspiracies
- „ 639 (16 Jumada l akhir) Lāhor captured by the Mughals Minhaj us Siraj, at the Court of Dehli, appointed Kazi of the kingdom The army under the *Vazir*, Mahzab ud din, marches to the Beas to oppose the Mughals
- „ 639 (19 Sh'aban) The Vazir intrigues for the deposition of the Sultan, and returns with the army to the gates of Dehli
- „ 639 (8 Zil k'adah)¹ The city is taken, the Sultan captured, and slain on the 17th

Muhammad ud-din Bahram Shah

No 92 Silver Weight, 167 grs Pl vii fig 2 Very rare
Dehli, A H 638 Col Guthrie

Square area

فی عبد الامام

المستیر امر

المومنین

Margins—صرف هذا السكة

محسرت دهلی فی سہ ثمان
وثلث و (سمایه)

Square area

السلطان الاعظم

معز الدین والدین

ابو المظفر عمر امشاد

بن السلطان

Obverse inner margin in the spaces between the square area and the circular marginal line, in four detached divisions—

ناصر امر امر مومنین

¹ The author ment ons accidentally, the distribution of a "sum of 3000 chitals among some rioters the night before the surrender

A second similar coin (considerably oxydized) weighs 169 grains. There are several coins of this mintage now known. I have a dated specimen of the same year, 638, and two new specimens of Bahram's silver currency are quoted in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1863, p. 35.

- ☞ No 93 Silver and copper mixed Weight, 54 and 56 grs
Pl 1 figs 30 and 31 Very rare
Obverse—السلطان الاعظم معر الدنيا والدين
Reverse—Horseman and السلطان (possibly سلطان²)

- | | | | |
|-------|---------------------|----------------|---|
| No 94 | Silver and copper | Weight, 54 grs | (Plate 1, No 32) |
| | Horseman | | Bull |
| | स्त्री हमीर | | सुरिताण स्त्री मुअजदी |
| | <i>Sri Hammirah</i> | | <i>Suristan Sri Muajadin</i> ¹ |

These coins, as an almost constant rule, have the figure ६=6 on the Bull's housings. If there are any other numerals, contributing to a full date, elsewhere run into the device, I have as yet failed to discover them.

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------|----------------|
| No 95 | Silver and copper | Weight, 52 grs |
| | (Variety of 32, plate 1) | |
| | Horseman | Bull |
| | स्त्री हं | सुरज |
| | | <i>Mulj</i> |

This coin is of coarser execution than the ordinary specimens of this series. It also varies materially in the forms of the letters, the *h* follows the ancient rendering of that vowel *h*,² and the *j* adheres to the older shape of *E*.

¹ In my previous readings I rendered this name as मुयजदी *Muyaadin*. I now see that the third letter is an अ *a*, it is exceptional in its outline, but it accords with some examples of the exceptional अ *a* on 'Alā ud-din Mas'ūd's coin, No 101, *infra*.

² Prinsep's Essays pl. xxxviii. xxxix., fifth and ninth centuries A.D. and the *j* fifth and seventh centuries A.D.

No 96 Silver and copper Weight, 55 grs New
(Variety of No 30, plate 1)

Horseman
above which appears
سرامشاه

السلطان
الاعظم
معر
الدنيا والدين

EIGHTH KING (A H 639-644, A D 1241-1246)

The uncertainty of successions to Eastern thrones is prominently displayed in the present instance, in the elevation of two kings in one day 'Izz-ud-din Balban, a son-in-law of Altamsh, supported by a faction, assumed the sovereignty immediately on the decease of Bahram, but, before night, he was supplanted by 'Ala ud-din Mas'aud, a son of Rukn-ud-din Firuz, upon whom the choice of the more influential nobles had fallen

SUMMARY OF THE REIGN OF 'ALÁ UD DÍN MAS'AÚD

- A H 639 8 Zi'lk'adah Accession
 „ 640 Arrogance and assumption of the Vazir Mahzab ud din, who is killed by the party of the Turki noblesse on the 2nd Jumada'l awwal, 640 A H
 „ 641 Minhaj us Siraj, having resigned his office of Kazi, leaves Dehli on the 9th Rajab on his two years' visit to the Court of Tughan Khan at Lakhnauti 'Ala ud din Mas'aud, during these two years, extends and consolidates his sway The Sultan releases his uncles, (Jalal ud din and Nasir ud din), from confinement, and provides them with governments

- A H 612 Shawwāl. The troops of Jajnagar appear before Lakhnauti.¹
 Tamar Khán brings reinforcements See p 8
- „ „ 14 Safar The author returns to Dehli, and is reinstated
 in some of his old offices
- „ „ Rajab The Mughals, under Manguti, attack Uchh
 The Sultan advances against them, but they retire
 without fighting
- „ 644 The camp life and military associations are supposed to
 have had a bad effect upon the Sultan's morals, and
 he takes to evil courses and uncontrolled cruelties,
 disorganization engendered in consequence The chiefs
 and nobles invite Násir ud dín Mahmud to occupy the
 throne
- „ „ 23rd Muharram The Sultán is imprisoned and dies

¹ I need scarcely say that I totally discredit the reported invasion of Bengal by the troops of Changiz Khán in 642 A H (Elhot's *Historians*, ii 261 344, Dow's *Hindustan* (London, 1770), i p 342, Briggs's *Ferishtah*, i 231, Elphinstone's *History of India*, 377) The error, so largely adopted, seems to have arisen from the mistranscription of the original text of Minháj us Siráj, where چنگر جان has been substituted for حاحگر in the leading passage—

و در شوال سه اثنی و اربع و ستمائے کفار حاحگر بدر لکنؤی آمدند
 Stewart, in his history of Bengal (London, 1813, p 62), had already pointed out that Ferishtah was wrong but he himself was mistaken in placing *Jajnagar* in Orissa, instead of in Tipperah The Persian text printed in Calcutta (p 199) frankly admits the variant of حاحگر in a foot note without venturing to correct the obvious inaccuracy in the body of the text which the tenor of the concurrent events related at page 215 would fully have justified (See also pp 157, 163 243 and Ferishtah Bombay lithographed edition of the Persian text, i 122) The author of the *Tárikh-i Mubarak Sháh* avoids the mistake by refraining from noticing the reported invasion Nurám-ud-din Ahmad in his *Tabakát-i Akbari*, however, reproduces the error, and indulges in some speculations as to the route by which the Mughals entered Bengal (MS text) In this he is followed by Badaoni, who adopts his text almost unchanged (Calcutta text, p 88) An amusing muddle, which the Calcutta editors might have avoided by a moderate exercise of critical acumen, also occurs in their making Changiz Khán fight the battle of Parwán, north of Kábul, in the intra Gangetic town of Badaon (Calcutta text of *Tabakát-i Násiri*, p 343) See also Dr Lee's *Ibn Batutah* O Tr Fund, 97

'Alā' ud dīn Mas'ūd Shah

No 97 Silver Weight, 165.4 grs Dehlh

Square areas inclosed in circles

في عهد الامام	السلطان الاعظم
المستصر امر	علا الدنيا والدين ابو
المومنين	المطهر مسعود شاه
	بن السلطان

The marginal legends are the same on both faces

صرب هذا السكه محصرت دهلي في سنة

N B The Khalif *Al Mustansir* died in 640 A H

No 98 (pl 1 fig 33) Silver Weight, 167.5 grs Dehli, A H 641

في عهد الامام	Area
المستعصم امر	Similar to No 10
المومنين	

Marginal legends duplicated—صرب ... سنة احدى واربعين وستماية

No 99 (pl 11 fig 34) Silver and copper Weight, 50 grs

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا والدين*Reverse*—Over the Horseman, مسعود شاهNo 100 Silver and copper mixed Coarsely executed dies
Weight, 50 grs (My cabinet)

The Bull of Siva

Horseman, in *toghra*

Legend—

Legend—

सुरिताण श्री अलावदिण

श्री पलीफ

Suritāṇ Śrī Alā'adīn

Śrī Shalīfa

See also the coin of the Khalif *Mustansir*. No 95, p. 52, *supra*

No 101 Silver and copper mixed Finely cut and well finished
dies Weight, 46 to 50 grs

Date, *Samrat*, 1300=1243 A D =641 A H

Bull

Horseman

Legend as above

श्री हमीर

On the *Jhāl* of the Bull १, on
the hindquarter, ३ = ३००

Srī Hamīrah

For engravings see Prinsep's Essays, pl xxvi fig 33, J A S B vol
xxxiv (1865), pl xxxvii fig 23

A very remarkable outline is given to the initial अ, in the title of the Sultān, on these coins, the nearest approach to which, in modern type, would be represented by a combination of प्र *pr*, with a medial त prefixed to it but shortened up, so as to admit of the insertion of a dot at its foot, thus त्र. A similar outline (usually without the dot) is retained on the coins of 'Alā ud dīn Muhammad Shāh (pl iii fig 60). The earlier example of possibly the same letter, on the introductory Kābul silver series, adverted to in the note p 58, might be imitated in type by त्र or त्र. These dates were first detected by Gen Cunningham. At the outset I was inclined to question the determination, as I had met with a coin of 'Alā ud dīn's, belonging to Major Simpson, which gave three dots after the ३, but I now see that this apparent increase was due to the imperfect execution of the die. Besides which, the discovery of a similar system of dating in the Vikramaditya era on the coins of Altamsh (p 71) fully confirms the present system of interpretation.

No 102 (pl ii fig 35) Copper Weight, 49½ grs

Obverse—الاعظم علا الدسا والدين مسعود شاد

Reverse—مسعود شاد

No 103 (pl ii fig 36) Silver and copper Weight, 52 grs

Obverse—الدين مسعود بن سلطان

Reverse—Rude figure of a horseman of the Narwar type

These coins partake of many of the characteristics of the unique

mintage of Arám Sháh, which may be traced not only in the peculiar reverse, but in the general coarseness of the die manipulation and the eccentric forms of the Persian letters

No 104 (pl II fig 37) Copper Weight, 56 grs

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم مسعود السلطان

Reverse—Rude figure of a horseman.

No 105 (pl II fig 38) Copper and Silver Weight, 41 grs

Obverse—Ball अलादिन Aládin

NINTH KING (A. H. 644-664, A. D. 1246-1265).

The annals of the major portion of the reign of "Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd," the second son of Altamsh of *that name*, have been preserved in elaborate detail by his special biographer, Minháj us Siráj, whose history extends only to A. H. 658, though an occasional prayer for Mahmúd's successor seems to show that the author survived his Sovereign.¹ With a temporary intermission, the affairs of the kingdom were guided throughout by the strong will of the Vizir, Bahá-ud-dín Balban, Ulugh Khán. It was, perhaps, as well for Násir-ud-dín that he had such support, for he seems, like the other sons of Altamsh, to have been but little fitted to dominate over his own turbulent nobles or to coerce the imperfectly conquered native races nominally subject to his sway. Though unassailed in repute, his tastes tended rather to an obscure and retired life, associated with

in which he excelled a faculty which possibly had its influence on the execution and finish of the legends of his coinage, which display a remarkable advance upon the earlier mintages in the fineness of the lines and the improved definition of the Persian characters

SUMMARY OF THE EVENTS OF THE REIGN OF NÁSIR UD DÍN MAHMÚD ¹

- A H 644 Accession (23rd Muharram) Expedition under Ulugh Khan into the Hills of Jud and Jilam
- „ 645 Capture of Nandana ² The army advances to Harra, attacks upon دلی و ملکی (See note p 66, ante)
- „ 646 Ulugh Khán proceeds against Chahar Deva Bahá ud din Aibeg killed before Rantambhor (11th Zil hijjah)
- „ 647 The Sultan gives his daughter in marriage to the son of Ulugh Khan
- „ 648 Izz ud din attempts to take Multan from Shír Khan, the brother of Ulugh Khan
- „ 649 Izz ud din revolts at Nagor, he is ultimately captured by Shír Khan at Uchh
- „ „ 25 Sha'bán The Sultan proceeds towards Malwa Chahar Deva defeated and the Fort of Narwar taken (p 67, ante) Minháj us Siraj appointed Kazi of the State
- „ 650 The Sultán proceeds towards Uchh and Multan, intrigues commenced against Ulugh Khan
- „ 651 Ulugh Khán ordered to his estates in the Siwálík Hills and Hansi The royal army proceeds against him, and Hansi is given to *Sháh-áddah* Rukn ud din Ulugh Khan establishes his head quarters at Nagor, and carries on the war against Chahar Deva Shír Khan crosses the Indus

*

¹ Tabakát-i Násiri text and Elliot's *Historians*, u pp 345 et seq 365 et seq

² Gen Cunningham identifies this place with Deo kali or the Na po ti po kin lo of Huen Tsang : c *Nava deva lala* close to Rájgur, the fort of Alha and Udal about 4 miles S.E. of Kanauj

- A II 652 Operations in Sirmur and Pinjor, passage of the Jumna and the Ganges (at Miyapur), and march along the foot of the hills to the Ramgunga, and on to Badaon
Confederacy of nobles in support of Ulugh Khan
Manœuvring of the armies in Sirhind, peace made
- „ 653 The Sultan distrusts his own mother, who was married to Kutlugh Khan Minhaj us Siráj again appointed Kazi of the kingdom Kutlugh Khan revolts, but is obliged to retreat before Ulugh Khan to Kalinjar
- „ 654 Operations against Kutlugh Khan continued
- „ 655 Izz ud din Balban revolts Kutlugh Khan joins him near Samana, they march to Dehli in the absence of the royal army, but are unable to hold their ground
- „ 656 The Sultan proceeds against the Mughals, who had entered Multan, but returns to Dehli without an encounter
- „ 657 The main army marches southward, repose and quiet in the capital Tribute received from Izz ud din Balban Uzbek in charge of Lakhnauti
- „ 658 Ulugh Khan is sent to coerce the Mewatis, operations against *Malka*, chief of certain turbulent Hindus, near the capital Ambassadors arrive at Dehli from Huláku Mughal
- „ 664 (11 Jumad'al awwal)¹ Nasir ud din Mahmud dies

Nasir ud din Mahmud

No 106 (pl II fig 39, and Marsden, No DCXIV)

Silver Highest weight 168.8 grs 25 specimens (4 specimens average 168.2 grs and numerous coins touch 168 grs) DEHLI
Dates observed, 654² A II, 655, 656, 657, 658, 660, 662, 663, 664

¹ Zia Barni, Persian text, Calcutta edition, p. 25 Tarikh Mubarak Sháhi MS [length of reign given as 19 years, 3 months, 10 days], Badaoni, Calcutta text, p. 24, Ferishtah, Briggs, I 246

² The ital c figures indicate the date of the particular coin described in the text and figured in the plate

• في عهد الامام	السلطان الاعظم
المستعم امير	ناصر الدسا و الدين
• المومنين	ابو المظفر محمود
	بن السلطان

مرحمة حدة الفضة حشرت دحلى في ستة اربع و خمس—Margins
و سماية

N B —Some of the coins retain the old term *Sikka* "coin," in lieu of the *Al Fizzat*, "silver " The early coins use the affiliative بن, the later ones ابن

No. 107 (pl u fig 40) Silver and Copper Weight, 51 grs

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدسا و الدين

Reverse—{ In front of the Horseman, श्री हमीर. *Sri Hammīrah*
{ Above the Horseman, محمود.

In the year 1854, a large hoard of these coins was discovered at Hansi I availed myself of the opportunity to have twelve of them (= 584 grs) assayed by the usual native process of blowing off the copper with lead The result arrived at gave a total of 149 grains of silver, or an average of 12.4166 grains of silver per coin

No 108 (pl u fig 41) Copper? Weight, 54 grs

Obverse—As above

Reverse—The Narwar type of Horseman

No 109 Silver and copper Minute coin Weight, 12 grs.

Obverse

ناصرى

عدل

Reverse

صرب

دہلی

I have detached the subjoined coin from the ordinary suite of the mintages of Násir ud-din Mahmud, because I am not quite certain about the finality of its attribution it will be seen to differ from the ordinary pieces of Mahmúd in the more ample legend, the general style of the Persian characters, and in the adherence to the old practice of filling in one entire surface with the king's name and titles, as in the coins of Riziah (pl i fig 27, pl vi fig 1), an arrangement which, in the metropolitan series, had for some time past given place to the insertion of duplicate marginal legends on either surface of the piece. This peculiarity may prove to be a mere indication of its issue from the Lakhnautí mint, where the earlier coins of Riziah are now proved to have been struck, more over, as bearing upon this point, it may be noted that the introductory coins of the local kings of Bengal (pl vi. fig 2, etc), though they do not implicitly follow this older model, yet in no case do they display the duplicate marginal legends adopted in the northern capital. If these coins, then, are to be accepted as the produce of Bengal dies, the additional matter inserted after the Sultan's name may be expected to allude to some imperial intervention in the affairs of the southern province, or we may possibly have to seek for the name of the local Viceroy in the illegible portion of the obverse now engraved.

No. 110. Silver. A.H. .5. (650 odd?). *Unique.* Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

في عهد الامام

المستعصم امير

العمومنين

Margin—

.. خمسين ..



السلطان الاعظم

ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو

المظفر محمود بن السلطان

.....

K. Inscription of *Násir-ud-dín Maḥmūd*, engraved over the doorway of the Minaret¹ at Allygurh, dated 10th Rajab, A.H. 652.

هذه العمارة في عهد ملكة السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين
 الملك العالم ابي المظفر محمود بن السلطان خلد الله ملكه ووطانه
 الملك العالم الكبير المعظم تغلخان يبا الحق والدين ملك ملوك
 الشرق والصين بلسن الشمس في ايام ايلة بامر مسالة العاشر من
 رجب سنة اثني خمسين وستمائة

هذه العمارة في عهد ملكة السلطان الاعظم ملك رقاب الامم
 ناصر الدنيا والدين سلطان السلاطين

في الامان لاهل الايمان وارث ملك سليمان صاحب الخاتم في
 ملك العالم ابي المظفر محمود بن السلطان خلد الله ملكه ووطانه
 الملك العالم الكبير المعظم تغلخان يبا الحق والدين ملك ملوك
 الشرق والصين بلسن الشمس في ايام ايلة بامر مسالة العاشر من
 رجب سنة اثني خمسين وستمائة

¹ It is with much regret that I learn that this ancient monument has been wantonly destroyed. With a feeling akin to shame, I have to add, that this was the deliberate act of my fellow-countrymen, the English officials in charge of the district in 1861.

effective measures against these plunderers, and, for the moment, so to say, exterminated the race. About this period, the disorganization of the neighbouring kingdoms, consequent upon the destructive inroads of the Mughals, drove illustrious men of varied nationalities to seek refuge in India. There under a warmer sun were assembled all the brightest ornaments of the Asiatic world, and, among them, no less than fifteen sovereign princes. So that, for a time, the old Hindú capital became the centre of Muhammadan civilization, and Delhi, imitating the viceregal court of Multán, shone with a splendour but little anticipated for it by its Muslim occupiers of a few short years before.

The unsparing rigour of the Emperor secured his supremacy almost unquestioned throughout his long reign, with the exception of the serious revolt of Tughrál, the governor of Bengal (No 15, page 8), who assumed the style and titles of an independent king, and succeeded in defeating two several armies sent to subdue him. At length the Sultán proceeded against him in person, and one of his commanders coming upon the forces of the rebels somewhat unexpectedly, in a dashing spirit of chivalry, though at the head of only forty troopers, entered their camp at headlong speed, and struck panic into his adversaries by his very rashness. In the precipitate flight which ensued, Tughrál was captured and slain, and the recovered kingdom of Bengal

have prepared the way; and the Emperor, in the language of his people, took the road to another world.

It will be seen that my sketch of this long and important reign deals with generalities alone, and is altogether deficient in the annals outlined on previous occasions — an explanation of this reserve is to be found in the change of the guiding historical authority. The loss of Minhaj us Siraj, who was an eye-witness to many of the facts he relates, a participator in many of the public events he chronicles, and a candid and conscientious narrator, is ill supplied by Zia ud din Barni, a writer of little merit,¹ wanting in arrangement, time-serving in his representation of incidents, and, as regards this particular section of his biographies, a mere hearsay compiler of crude tradition nearly a century after date.²

¹ This is no new discovery of mine. I denounced our author in no limited terms in 1846 (*Initial Coinage of Bengal J. R. A. S., N. S., II. p. 180*), and as an immediate test, I may add that of *the two* exceptional dates given in the entire twenty years of Balban's domination, *one* is manifestly wrong. See also Colonel Lees's notice of this author, *J. R. A. S., N. S., III. p. 441*, and Sir H. Elliot's and Prof. Dowson's remarks on the same subject, *Elliot's Historians*, III. 93.

² Zia ud-din Barni, in his *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāh*, gives the following account of his own work — "I deemed it advisable to exclude from this history every thing which is included in the *Tabakāt-i Nāsiri*, and to confine myself to the history of the later kings of Dehli. It is ninety five years since the *Tabakāt-i Nāsiri*, and during that time eight kings have sat upon the throne of Dehli. Three other persons, rightly or wrongfully occupied the throne for three or four months each, but in this history I have recorded only the reigns of eight kings, beginning with Sultān Ghíás-ud dīn Balban, who appears in the *Tabakāt-i Nāsiri* under the name of Ulugh Khān

First. Sultān Ghíás-ud-dīn Balban, who reigned 20 years

Second. Sultān Mu'izz-ud dīn Karkhād, son of Sultān Balban, who reigned 3 years.

Third. Sultān Jalāl ud-dīn Firūz Khilji, who reigned 7 years

Fourth. Sultān Alā ud dīn Khilji, who reigned 20 years.

Fifth. Sultān Kutb ud dīn, son of Sultān 'Alā ud dīn, who reigned 4 years and 4 days

Sixth. Sultān Ghíás ud dīn Tughlak, who reigned 4 years and a few months

Seventh. Sultān Muhammad, the son of Tughlak Shāh, who reigned 20 years

Eighth. Sultān Firūz Shāh *the present king*, who may God preserve

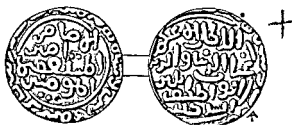
I have not taken any notice of three kings, who reigned only three or four

The numismatic illustration of this period is likewise less diversified, the long repose of Mahmud's reign allowed the mint arrangements to settle themselves into a fixed system, and the public money accordingly assumed a more permanent form, unenlivened by commemorative medals or new adaptations of local currencies. Balban's rule is, however, identified with the first appearance of a gold coinage following the ordinary silver models already in circulation.

Ghiás ud dīn Balban

No 111 (Marsden, DCXCV)

Gold Weight, 163 grs Very rare Col Guthrie. DEHLI, A H 680
Circular Areas



الامام
المستعصم امر
المؤمنين

السلطان الاعظم
عاش الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر بلبن
السلطان

Margin—صرف هذه السكه محضرت دهلى فى سنة ثمان مائ و ستمائة

No 112 (pl. II. fig 42)

Silver Highest weight, 167.5 grs (Five specimens average 167.3 grs) DEHLI Dates observed, A H 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 673, 674, 678

months I have written in this book, which I have named *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāh* whatever I have seen during the six years of the reign of the present king *Firūz Shāh* and after this if God spares my life I hope to give an account of subsequent occurrences in the concluding part of this volume —Elliot's *Historians*
11 p 93

Areas as usual in the current silver coins, consisting of a double lined square within circular marginal lines.

Margins as in the gold coinage, with the exception of the term *Al Fī-ṣat*, which replaces the *Al Sikkā*

An innovation is to be noticed in the coinage of Balban, in the rejection of the words *fī 'ahd*, "in the time of," "under the auspices of," hitherto prefixed to the name of the Khalīf on the medals of his predecessors. The last Abbāsīd Khalīf, Must'asim, was put to death in 656 A.H. by the Mughal conqueror of Baghdād, Hūlākū Khān. It has been the subject of remark, as exhibiting an apparent inconsistency, that Balban and other monarchs should have continued to quote the name of this prominent martyr of their faith long subsequent to his decease, its retention, however, may be considered as appropriate, as it was clearly intentional, for, pending the appearance of an acknowledged successor to the throne of Muhammad, no course could have been less open to objection than a continuation of this simple record of the last who had borne the mantle of the Prophet

No 113 (pl. II fig. 43) Copper, or silver and copper?

Weight, 47½ grs Common

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم عماد الدین و الدین

Reverse { Centre—بلبن Balban
 { Margin—श्री सुलतान गयासु दी Śrī Sultān Gyaśu dīn

No 114 (pl. II fig. 44) Copper Weight, 67 grs Common

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم

Reverse—عماد الدین و الدین

No 115 (pl. II fig. 45) Silver and copper Weight, 26 grs Rare

Obverse—عدل عمادی

Reverse—محضرت دهلوی

L Inscription of *Balban*, A.H. 682=A.D. 1283.

The single Persian inscription of Balban hitherto discovered is engraved on the walls of the Jám'i Musjid at Gurmuktsar, in the Mirat district (lat. $28^{\circ} 46'$, long. $78^{\circ} 10'$).¹ It is to the following effect:—

مبنى هذه العمارة في عهد السلطنة السلطان الاعظم شاهنشاه
المعظم غياث الدنيا و الدين ابو المطر بلبن السلطان ناصر امير
المومنين سنه اثني وثمانين وستمائة ٦٨٢

But the most important record for the illustration and due assignment of the preliminary adaptive issues of the Pathan dynasty is furnished by an inscription at *Pálam*, in the Dehli territory, engraved during the reign of Balban, under the auspices of *Uṭar*, the son of *Haripál*, and dated in Samvat 1333. This epigraph reproduces the Muhammadan names of nine of the leading monarchs of the race, in Devanagari characters. The inscription is historically unimportant, but it is curious in the preservation of the local nomenclature of the several kings, and the casual application of Indian titles of honour, ending with the *Amir*, assigned to the reigning Sultán.² A full transcript and a translation of this inscription (in *Urdú*) were published by Syud Ahmad Khán in 1854, but as I was not quite satisfied with its data and details, I availed myself of the assistance of Ramsurn dás, the then Deputy-Collector of Dehli, who was so obliging as to secure for me a new and more exact version. This recension differed

¹ This legend was copied for me, many years ago, by Syud Ahmad Khán.

² This is an item of some importance in the discussion of the correct determination of the applicability of the title of *Amir*, on the early *Dehliwallas*, to the reigning sovereign, to which I have adverted at p. 51.

materially from the text given in the *Asár us Sunadced*, as may be seen from a comparison of the orthography of the names now given. I have unfortunately lost the revised document itself, but I had copied all that was of immediate value into my note-book, from which I extracted the names already published at p. 331, vol. ii. of my edition of Prinsep's *Essays* (1858). I am the more particular in stating these facts, as I regret to learn from Gen. Cunningham that he had made many inquiries for the inscription on the two different occasions of his later visits to Dehli, "but that it could not be found, and was supposed to have disappeared in the Mutiny."

M. Inscription of Uṭar (उट्टर) son of Haripál (हरिपाल) originally recorded on the *Baoli* at Pálam (Lat. 28° 35', Long. 77° 8') in the Dehli territory, dated Sāwan badi 13 (संवत् १३३३) Samvat 1333 = 1276 A.D., A.H. 675.

1. शहाबुद्दीन *Shahbuddīn*.
2. कुतबुद्दीन *Kutabuddīn* with the title of भूपालः *Bhūpālāh*.
3. शमशुद्दीन *Shamshuddīn*.
4. फेरोजशाह *Pheroz Shāh* with the title of चभूवभूमिपति *Babhūva Bhūmi Pati*.
5. जलालुद्दीन *Jalaluddīn* (*Rizlah*).
6. मौजद्दीन *Maujadīn*, title नृपः *Nripāh*.
7. अलालुद्दीन *Alaluddīn*, title नृपति *Nripati*.
8. नसीरुद्दीन *Nasiruddīn*, title पृथ्वीद्र *Prithvīdra*.
9. गयासद्दीन *Gyāsaddīn*, title श्रीहम्मीर *Srī Hammīra*.

Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad bin Sām is here called by the title he bore as commander in his early campaigns—both the brothers, Shams-ud-dīn, the *senior*, and Shahāb-ud-dīn himself, adopted new titular designations on the elevation of

Shams ud-din Muhammad bin Sam (afterwards Ghiás ud din) to the throne of Ghazni¹

It will be seen that *Aram Sháh*, the third king of the ordinary lists, is not allowed a place in this summary. Ríziáh is designated by her title of *Jalal-ud-din*, and neither her ordinary name nor her second title of رضة الدين which appears on her Persian copper coinage (Nos 28, 29, pl 1), are alluded to.

नृपति *Nripati*, "king," is the title applied to the great Mahmud of Ghazni on his Mahmúdpúr (Lahore) coins previously noticed²

ELEVENTH KING (A H 686-689, A D 1287-1290)

Once again the frequent tale of a dissipated king, with virtually ruling ministers, has to be told, varied only in the present instance in the extreme lengths to which the monarch carried his debaucheries, and his escape from the toils of one vizír only to fall under the subjection of a second, who eventually usurped his crown. We have seen that Balban's surviving son, Násir-ud din Mahmúd, *Bughra Khan*, had already been installed in the kingdom of Bengal, which he seems to have been unwilling to quit, even for the higher honours of

١ قتل ارسطط محمد بن سام را شمس الدين مگتد و برادرش
شهاب الدين مآخواندد چون بر سرر جهاندارى نمكى يافت
ملتک سلطان عیاض الدین گشت و برادرش را معرالدین لقب

¹ P 48 *supra*

the imperial succession.¹ The Sultán had, therefore, provided that Kai Khusrú, the son of his first-born "martyred" heir, should fill the throne of Dehli; but the party in power at the capital secured the immediate elevation of Mu'izz-ud-dín Kaikubád, the son of Bughrá Khán. The youth is described as of an amiable disposition, and as having been brought up with such extreme strictness, that the liberty and licence of his new position proved too much for his self-control. Licentiousness was readily infectious at an Oriental Court, and the new monarch found no want of panders and companions in his orgies.

The government was soon surrendered to the deputy, Nizám-ud-dín, one of whose earliest acts was the disposal of Kai Khusrú, as a preliminary to clearing the way for his own designs on royalty. The *New Muslim* (converted) Mughals, who had settled at Dehli, and who formed an important element in the body politic, were next assailed and massacred in detail, and few nobles felt themselves safe from the machinations of this all-powerful minister; reports of his designs even reached the Sultán's ears, only to be discredited and disregarded. But the most subtle scheme, for the furtherance of his own aims, conceived by Nizám-ud-dín, was the sowing distrust between the father and the son, and persuading the latter to advance in force towards Bengal.² The armies came

¹ Balban had been urgent in pointing out to him how much more importance, in a political sense, attached to the possession of the northern capital—which in the limited experiences of those days seemed for ever designed to remain as the central stronghold of India. He added, in the same spirit, that "whoever held Bengal must needs be subject to the ruling power at Dehli."—Zia Barani. *Elliot's Historians*, iii p 123

² "When Bughrá Khán heard that his son . . . paid no heed to his letters, he resolved to go and see him, and wrote him a letter announcing his intention. . . . This letter awakened the Sultán's affection . . . and several letters passed . . . It was at length arranged that the Sultán would go to Oudh, and that his father

in sight of each other near Oude, and encamped on either bank of the Sarjú, after certain preliminary peaceful advances, Bughrá Khán sent his second son, Kai Khás, to pay the introductory visit to his brother, this was responded to by Kaikubád sending over his own infant son, Kaismour, to be presented to his grandfather. This, again, led to the old king trusting himself frankly within the limits of his son's camp, and at the public Durbár, held on the occasion, natural affections so asserted their way, in defiance of the pompous restrictions and ceremonials of Oriental Courts, that reconciliation was at once complete, and the two monarchs vied with each other in the endeavour to surrender the place of honour.¹ The meeting, however, scarcely changed the political position of either party. Bughrá Khán was permitted to return undisturbed to Bengal, whose local throne was filled

should come from Lakhnaú and meet him on the banks of the Sarjú. The Sultán's intention was to proceed privately (*ghairat*) to the Sarjú, but his minister opposed this, observing that 'the journey was long, and that he ought to travel in state with an army'. Old writers had said that in pursuit of dominion fathers will slay their sons, and sons their fathers. Ambition for rule stifles both paternal and filial affection. The Sultán's father had struck coins, and caused the *Kawthar* to be read in his name,—besides, he was the rightful heir to the kingdom, and who could foresee what would happen at the interview. The Sultán ought to proceed with his army in all state and grandeur. The Rás and Ránas would then come to pay their respects, but if he travelled with haste all reverence for the kingly office would be lost. His advice was taken by the Sultán, and he directed his army and travelling equipage to be prepared.' —Zia Barni. Elliot's *Historians*, iii. p. 130.

¹ This remarkable interview has been made the subject of a poem, in 4 000 couplets, entitled the "*Khán us S adám*," by the celebrated Yamin ud-din, Aból Hasan, *Amir Khusrú Dehlaví*, which was composed under the auspices of Kaikubád himself in A.H. 688. Those who are disinclined to encounter the tedious efforts and dull repetitions of Persian poetry may consult with advantage an exhaustive review and analysis of this work, by Professor E. B. Cowell, in the *Journal As. Soc. Bengal* for 1860 pp. 225-239. The date of the effective start of Mu'izz ud-din, from Dehli, on his march southward, is calculated by Professor Cowell to have been *Rabí ul awwal*, A.H. 686, p. 230.

by his family after him for two generations, while the empire of Dehli speedily passed into the hands of an alien race

But little remains to be said about Kaikubād's reign. On his return to his capital the objectionable vizir was quietly poisoned, and his place supplied by Jalāl-ud-dīn *Khiḷji*, governor of Sámána. The Sultán having now become paralysed, his son, of tender years, was placed on the throne, under the title of Shams-ud-dīn, and the old *Balban* Túrks rallied round him in the hope of saving the kingdom from the power of the *Khiḷjis*; but their measures to that end were of little effect, for Jalāl-ud-dīn having got possession of the person of the young prince, sent one of his followers to put an end to the dying Sultán, whose body was ignominiously cast into the Jumna.¹

Mu'izz-ud-din Kaikubād.

No. 116 (pl. ii fig. 46; Marsden, DCXCIII)

Silver. Weight, 168 grs Average weight of 5 coins, 164 2 grs

DEHLL. Dates, 687 A.H. and 688 A.H.

الامام	السلطان الاعظم
المستعصم امير	معر الدنيا والدين
المومنين	ابو المطر كيقان
	السلطان

Margins—

صرف هذه الفضة ببحرت دهللي في سنة سبع وثمانين وستمائة

¹ The *Tārīkh Mubārak Shāhī* gives the date of this event as the 19th Muharram A.H. 689, Kaikubād's accession having taken place in A.H. 686, and not, as erroneously stated by Zia Barani, in 685. As this is the *single* date given in the entire reign, it might have been hoped that it should be rightly given.—*Elliot's History*, iii. 125.

No 117 (pl. ii fig. 47) Silver and copper Weight, 54 grs

Obverse—السلطان الاعلم معر الدسا والدين

Reverse { كِتَابُ Kalku^hdd
श्री मुसता मुद्गुदी Sri Sultān Mu lyudin

The old initial form of the letter ك is remarkable

No 118 (pl. ii fig. 48) Copper Weight, 51 grs

Obverse—السلطان الاعلم

Reverse—معر الدسا والدين

No 119 (pl. ii fig. 49) Silver and copper, or copper?

Weight, 59 grs

OBVERSE.

عدل

معرى

REVERSE.

محسرت

دهلى

TWELFTH KING (A H 689-695, A D 1290-1295)

Jalāl-ud-dīn Firūz having accomplished the revolution which transferred the imperial throne from the Turks to the Khiljis,¹ proceeded with considerable caution in the consolidation of his own power. Among other prudent measures, he retained the young prince Kaumours as the ostensible Sultān for more than three months, and succeeded in inducing Malik

¹ Zia Barni professes to speak of the events of this reign as coming under his own personal observation (text, p. 175) and yet his opening date for the accession of Jalāl-ud-dīn Firūz is 688 A H, has to be corrected into 689 A H on the authority of Mir Khusrū. The Tarikh Mubarak Shāhi concurs in this latter date. Nizam ud dīn Ahmad retains the 688 but Budaoni corrects his own version of the date into 689 (text, p. 166). Ferishta has 687 A H (Briggs, i. 283. Bombay text, i. 154).

Chhajú, the nephew of Balban, to leave the capital and proceed to his fief at Karra; and, as he distrusted the good-will of the people of Dehli, he removed his court to the site of the new town of *Kilughari*, on the Jumna, which had already been partially occupied by Kaikubád.¹

* In the second year of Firúz's reign, Malik Chhajú broke out into open revolt, and, aided by the old Túrki party and numerous contingents of Hindustáni troops, advanced towards the capital.² The Sultán, on the other hand, was warmly seconded by his Khiljí adherents, and his disciplined warriors easily defeated the indigenous levies; he then endeavoured to gain over the captive nobles by clemency and conciliation, even Chhajú himself was spared. In reply to the expostulations of his courtiers, he attempted to justify this unwise leniency by his unwillingness to shed Muslim blood, and the hope that he might thus convert enemies into friends. The single instance in which retributive justice was allowed to run its course was infelicitous, as the individual who was sacrificed chanced to be a pious *Darvesh*, Sidi Maulá

¹ The exact site of Kilughari was S.E. of Humáyún's Tomb and N by W. of Khizrábád which latter positions are duly marked in the plan of Dehli which illustrates this work. In 1808 the Jumna had materially changed its old bed, which lay much to the westward of the course here indicated, following a bend inwards, which left Kilughari on a bold promontory—*Journal Archaeological Society of Dehli*, A.D. 1853, p. 52. Cunningham's Report, 1862-3, p. 33.

² Malik Chhajú is stated to have affected all the honours of kingship under the title of *Mughís-ud-din*.

و ملكت جميعو خود را سلطان معيث الدين خطاب كرد و در تمامي

هندوستان خطبه نام خود خوانايد

The striking of coin is likewise specified in a subsequent passage.

و ملكت چنگو كه چدين ماد در هندوستان خطبه او خواندند و

سكه بنام او زدند

by name, whom certain conspirators had designed to place upon the throne

'Alá-ud-din, the nephew and son-in-law of the Sultan, who had been entrusted with the districts of Karra, etc., on the defeat of Chhajú, found himself on reaching his government within much of the pernicious influence of the hostile Turk adherents of his predecessor, and listening to their persuasions, he seems to have commenced the series of his most successful campaigns against the Hindu kingdoms of the south, mainly with a view to the acquisition of sufficient wealth, by plunder, to enable him to equip such a force as should completely overpower the royal army. Eventually, however, deceit was preferred to overt insurrection, and the Sultan having been deluded into visiting 'Alá-ud-din in his camp, at Karra, was assassinated while clasping the hand of his treacherous nephew¹

Jalal ud din Firuz Shah

No 120 Gold Weight, 167 grs Unique B M

This is a most crude and ill executed piece, which, though bearing the name of Dehli on the margin, has every appearance of being the produce of dies prepared in 'Ala ud din's southern camp, with a view to the ready conversion of plunder into coin. The legends imitate, in their tenor, the conventional epigraphs of the silver coin age, but the characters are badly formed and at times unintelligible. This is particularly the case with the marginal legend, where the word سكه has to be taken for granted, and the date appears as ثمانس و ستاین, 680 A H, which is clearly an error. The gold of which the piece is composed is unrefined and unequally wrought

¹ Among the casual incidents mentioned by Zia Barni as occurring during this reign, may be noted the famine after the death of Sidi Maulá, when wheat rose to the price of a 'jital per *setr*, the Sultan's expedition in person to Rantambhor in 689 A H, the inroad of the Mughals in 691 A H, the Sultan's march to Gwalior in 695 A H.

No 121 (pl II fig 50) *Silver* Weight, 168 grs *DEHLI* Dates observed, A H 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695

Small square area, with broad margin

الامام
المستعصم
امير المؤمنين

Square area, occupying the entire surface of the coin

السلطان الاعظم
حلال الدنيا والدين
ابو المطهر ضرور شاه
السلطان

Margin—

صرف هذه العنة محصورة دهلي في سنة احدى و تسعين و ستماية

No 122 (pl II fig 51) *Silver and Copper* Weight, 52 grs

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم حلال الدنيا والدين

Reverse { Centre, ضرور شاه
Margin, श्री सुलता जलालुद्दी *Sri Sultán Jalaludin*

No 123 (pl II fig 52) *Copper* Weight, 67 grs

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم

Reverse—حلال الدنيا والدين

No 124 (pl II fig 53) *Silver and Copper* Weight, 29 grs

Obverse—عدل ضرور شاه

Reverse—محسرة دهلي

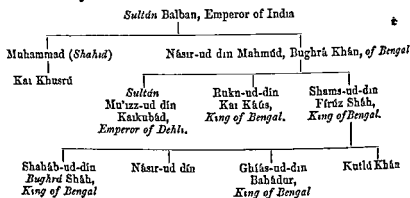
THE CONTEMPORARY COINAGE OF BENGAL

We now reach a period in the numismatic history of India when Bengal had arrived at the honours of a national coinage. The tangible produce of its mints henceforth runs in a parallel series with the Imperial issues, and continues to have an illustrative bearing upon the Chronicles of the Sultáns of Dehli up to the epoch when Firuz Sháh III (A H 754) had to abandon for ever, on the part of his dynasty, any pretence of interference with the southern section of the old dominion. The special interest of the Dehli Pathans in the Bengal currencies only recommences towards the final close of the rule of the race, when Shir Sháh Afghán carried up to Northern India certain modifications and novelties in the current coin, which were again imitated and adopted, simultaneously with the far more material fiscal reforms introduced from below, by Akbar on his recovery of India in A H 1003, regarding either of which appropriations this great Moghal's laudatory biographers are discreetly silent.

The passages quoted below,¹ from Ibn Batutah, will put

¹ "C'est le Sultan Fakhr eddin, surnommé Fakrah, qui est un souverain distingué, aimant les étrangers surtout les fakirs et les soufis. La royauté de ce pays a appartenu au Sultan Násir eddin, fils du Sultan Ghiyáth eddin Balaban, et dont le fils, Mo'izz eddin fut investi de la souveraineté à Dihly. Násir eddin se mit en marche pour combattre ce fils, ils se rencontrèrent sur les bords du fleuve et leur entrevue fut appelée la rencontre des deux astres heureux. Nous avons déjà raconté cela, et comment Násir eddin abandonna l'empire à son fils et retourna dans le Bengale. Il y séjourna jusqu'à sa mort, et eut pour successeur son (autre) fils Chams eddin, qui, après son trépas fut lui-même remplacé par son fils Chiháb eddin, lequel fut vaincu par son frère Ghiyáth eddin Behádur Ikbarah. Chiháb eddin demanda du secours au Sultan Ghiyáth eddin Toghták, qui lui en accorda, et fit prisonnier Behádur Ikbarah. Celui-ci fut

incidental materials I have constructed a genealogical tree of the rulers of Bengal who succeeded Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, the son of Balban, whose undisturbed return into Bengal has been already noticed.



The coins of Rukn-ud-dín Kai Káús, discovered in the celebrated Kooch Bahár hoard,¹ had already enabled me to correct the erroneous statement of Zíá Barni² as to the length of the reign of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, *Bughrá Khán*, of Bengal, in virtue of the sustained series of dates 691-695, still legible on the pieces in question. The inscription I am now able to quote establishes more definitely Kai Káús's position as local

¹ Colonel J. C. Haughton, to whom we are indebted for the knowledge of this *trouvaille*, was so obliging as to furnish me with some interesting details of the site of discovery and illustrations of the neighbouring localities — "The place where the coin was found is about three miles S.W. of Deenbatta, not far from the Temple of Kuntswaree (or Komit Eswaree) on the banks of the river Dhurba. Near to this temple is a place called Gosun Morree, a short distance from which are the ruins of Kuntswar Rájá's capital, called Kuntswaree-Pat, consisting of a mound of considerable extent, which has been surrounded with several ditches and walls, which are again protected at the distance of a mile or two by enormous mounds of nearly 100 feet high. The brass vessels, in which the treasure was deposited, were ordinary brass *lotals*, to which the top or lip had not been fixed, but in lieu thereof the vessels were covered by canister tops, secured by an iron spike passing from side to side."

² Calcutta text, 451, Ferishtah, Briggs, I. 406, Jour. ILA 9 ii N S pp 152, 155, Stewart's Bengal, pp 80, 118.

sovereign of Bengal in 697 A H, confessing allegiance to the supreme Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín, "Sikander us Sání;" and it officially confirms the fact already testified to by Mir Khusru (p 140, *ante*)¹ and Ibn Batutah, that he was the "son of Mahmúd, son of the Emperor" (Balban); a descent the coins are careful to indicate in the unusual iteration of

سلطان بن سلطان بن سلطان

Rukn ud dín Kai Káús of Bengal

No 125 (pl vi fig 2) Silver Weight, 168 grs Very rare
Lakhnauti, A H 691, 693, 694, 695

الامام	سلطان الاعظم
المستعصم	ركن الدنيا والدين ابو
امير المؤمنين	المظفر كيكائوس سلطان
	بن سلطان بن سلطان

سرب هداية محضرت لكبوتري ستة خمس وتسعين وستماية—Margin

N Translation of an Inscription of Kai Kaus found among the ruins at Gunga Rámpur, near Dinájpúr

"This Masjid was built in the reign of the king of kings, Rukn ud dunyá wa ud dín, the Shadow of God upon earth, *Káús Sháh*, son of Mahmád, son of the Emperor, the right hand of the Khalífah of the Lord, Assister of the Amír ul Múminín, may God perpetuate his kingdom and his government—by instructions of the Khusru of the age, Shaháb ul Hak wa ud dín, Sikandar us Sání, the Ulugh A azim, Humáyan Zafar Khán of the empire, may God perpetuate his kingdom and his government, and extend his years, . . . and under his own royal superintendence and orders, on the 1st of Muharram, A H 697 "

I am indebted to Colonel Nassau Lees for the above rough translation of the original inscription, which was prepared by

¹ ار پدر آمدن شاه جهان كيكائوس بر برادر . . .

—Lucknow, lithographed edition of the *Káús us S'adain*, A H 1261, p 102, and Prof Cowell, in J A S Bengal, 1860, p 234

4. *Shahr Nau* I suppose to have been the intitulation of the new city founded near the site of the old Lakhnauti:¹ it is variously denominated as the simple '*Arsat* or عَرْصَةُ الْعَمُورَةِ (populous, richly cultivated).² This progressively less appropriate name may be supposed to have merged into the official Jannatábád, which follows in mint sequence.

5. *Sonargaon*, as a rule, retains its ancient discriminative

¹ The decipherment of the name of this mint (as Colonel Yule remarks) determines for mediæval geography the contested site of Nicolò Conti's *Cernove*. The Venetian traveller in the East in the early part of the fifteenth century is recorded to have said that "he entered the mouth of the river Ganges, and, sailing up it, at the end of fifteen days he came to a large and wealthy city called Cernove. On both banks of the stream there are most charming villas and plantations and gardens. Having departed hence, he sailed up the river Ganges for the space of three months, leaving behind him four very famous cities, and landed at an extremely powerful city called Maarazia, . . . having spent thirteen days 'on an expedition to some mountains to the eastward in search of carbuncles,' . . . he returned to the city of Cernove, and thence proceeded to Buffetania."—The travels of Nicolò Conti, Hakluyt Society, London, pp. 10, 11.

See also Purchas, vol. v p. 508, and Murray's Travels in Asia, ii. 11.

There are also many interesting details regarding the geography of Bengal, and a very full and lucid summary of the history of the period, to be found in "Da Asia de João de Barros" (Lisbon, 1777, vol. iv. [viii], p. 465, *et seq.*) At the period of the treaty of Alfonso de Mello with "El Rey Mamud de Bengala" (the king whom Shír Sháh eventually overcame), the name of *Shahr Nau* had merged into the old provincial designation of *Gaur*, which is described as "A principal Cidade deste Reino he chamada *Gouro*, situada nas correntes do Gange, e dizem ter de comprido tres leguas das noasas, e duzentos mil vizinhos" (p. 458). Satigam makes a prominent figure on the map, and Sornagam is located on a large island within the Delta, the main stream dividing it from Dacca, which is placed on the opposite or left bank of the estuary.

More modern accounts of the old city may be found in Purchas, i. 579, Churchill, viii. 54, also Rennell, *Memour of a Map of Hindoostan*, London, 1788, p. 55, Stewart, p. 44, and in a special work entitled "The Ruins of Gour," illustrated with maps, plans, and engravings of the numerous Muhammadan edifices extant in 1817, by H. Creighton, 4to, London, Black, Parbury, & Allen. See also Elliot's Glossary of Indian Terms, *sub voce*, Gour Brahmin.

² The adjective (derived from عَمْرُوت *coluit*) will admit of other meanings, and, if understood as applying to a town, might signify "well built," locally *pakka*.

designation of *حضرة جلال*, *Hazrat-i-Jalál*, a title which it eventually had to cede to its rival Mu'azamábád.

6. *Mu'azamábád*. There is no definite authority for the determination of the site of this city, which, however, seems to have been founded by Sikandar bin Iliás about 758-759 A.H., when his own coins record that he himself assumed the title of *المعظم*, without trenching upon the superlative *الاعظم*, usually reserved for the reigning monarch, his father. I conclude that there was a gradual migration from the ancient Sonárgaon to the new city, which grew in importance from the governmental centre implied in the *اقلیم معظم آباد* of 760 A.H. to the *بلدة معظم معظم آباد*, "the great city of Mu'azamábád," of about 780 A.H., till, on the disappearance of the name of Sonárgaon from the marginal records of the general currency, the new metropolis appropriates to itself the immemorial *حضرة جلال* of Eastern Bengal.¹

I refer for the moment to No 7, *Ghiaspúr*, which Col Haughton informs me is near Gaur, about one mile N.W. of Maldah; and I take the opportunity of remarking that the sole remaining name of *Jannatabad*, an epithet which is erroneously stated to have been given by Humáyún to the re-edified Lakhnauti,² is here seen to have been in use a century and a half before the later Mughal dynasty of India made its way into Bengal.

¹ Dr Blochmann remarks in regard to the site of this city—"The two mints, Mu'azamabad and Ghiaspúr, of Thomas, can perhaps be verified, the former is probably the same as Mu'azzampúr as Sonárgaon, the latter belongs to Lakhnauti."—*Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal*, April, 1870, p. 121

² *Ain-i-Akbari*, ii. p. 11, Stewart's Bengal, 124 Bengal itself was called *جنة البلاد* "The Paradise of Regions" Ibn Batutah, iv p. 210, says the Persians called Bengal *دوزخ بر نعمه* "ce qui signifie," en arabe, "un enfer rempli de biens." (The original Arabic text quotes the passage in imperfect Persian as *دوزخست دور نعمه*) Marsden, *Num. Orient* p. 578, gives a coin of 'Alá-ud-dín Husain Sháh, of A.H. 917, purporting to have been struck at "*Jannatabád*"

The single item remaining to be mentioned in regard to the later mints is the substitution of the word نصبة in lieu of ¹بلده as the prefix to Firuzábád, in parallel progress towards centralization with the mint phraseology adopted in the case of Satgaon

THIRTEENTH KING (A H 695, A D 1295)

On the assassination of his father, in the camp of 'Alá ud dīn, in Ramazán A H 695 Rukn ud dīn Ibrāhīm² was elevated to the throne of Hindustán. His mother, Malika Jahán who retained her influence in the city of Dehli, in her haste to secure a representative of royalty, selected him in preference to the proper heir, Arkah Khán, who was absent at his post at Multan. This gave Ibrāhīm a temporary existence as a king—a dignity which otherwise, as a younger son and a minor he was neither entitled nor fitted to hold. 'Alá ud dīn, having already at his command a powerful army, and the wealth of the Dakhan supplying him with unlimited means of increasing his forces and conciliating wavering opponents had merely to advance on the capital to put an end to the rule of the boy Sultan, whose safety was for a time secured by a precipitate flight to Multan.

¹ بلد regio, also opp dum. The plurals are said to vary in correspondence with the independent meanings as بلاد and بلدان.

² ملك ركن الدين بدرجائرا ابراهيم شاه خطاب شد
—Tārīkh Mubārak Shāhī, MS and Zīā Barn text p 181

No 126 (pl II fig 54) Silver Weight, 167 grs Dehli, A II 695
Unique (Lord Auckland's collection, B M)

السلطان الاعظم	السلطان الاعظم
حلال الدنيا والدين	ركن الدنيا والدين
مرور شاه ناصر	ابو المظفر ابراهيم شاه
امير المؤمنين	السلطان بن

Margin—

صرف هذا الفضة محضرت دهلي سنة خمس وتسعين وسمائة

The modification in the general tenor of the legends of this piece seems to mark the confessed insecurity of the rule of the new king, the insertion of the name and titles of the late Sultan at full length looks like an appeal to the allegiance of the adherents of the father's throne, an apostrophe in favour of the direct line against the threatened claims of the too powerful nephew. The usual record of the name and title of the long since defunct Al Mustasim is replaced by the attribution to the deceased Firuz Shah of the ancient, but latterly disused designation of *Nâsir Amir al Muminin*.

No 127 (pl II fig 55) Silver and copper Weight, 52 grs Rare

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم ركن الدنيا والدين

Reverse—ابراهيم شاه بن مرور شاه

No 128 Copper Weight, 59 grs New variety Similar in types to No 52, pl II My cabinet

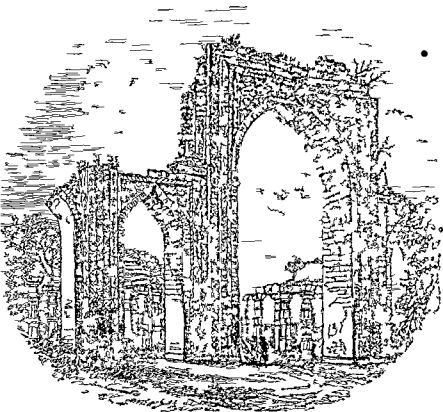
Obverse—السلطان الاعظم

Reverse—ابراهيم شاه بن مرور شاه

No 129 (pl II fig 56) Copper Weight, 38 grs Rare

Obverse—عدل ابراهيم شاه

Reverse—بن مرور شاه



ALÁ UD-DÍN'S ARCHES AT THE KUTB (with the annexed Hindu columns in the background) from a sketch by J Fergusson, Esq

The glory of the mosque however is not in these Hindu remains but in the great range of arches on the west end extending north and south for about 335 feet and consisting of three greater and eight smaller arches the central one 22 feet wide and 53 feet high the larger arches 24 feet 4 inches — Fergusson's Handbook of Architecture ii p 649

FOURTEENTH KING (A H 695-715, A D 1295-1315)

'Alá ud dîn Mu'ammad Shah went through the almost needless form of a double coronation, he clearly felt himself

his recently-acquired conquests in the Dakhan, from the moment he let fall the too-confiding hand of the monarch to whom he owed so much, and whom he so foully ensnared and murdered; he therefore lost no time in assuming the insignia of royalty in his camp at Karra, on the 16th of Ramazán, A.H. 695. This act, as it were, constituted the symbolical assumption of the regal turband of the south; he had still to win the jeweled tiara of Imperial Dehli. In the attainment of this object he proceeded with his accustomed energy and craft, but the scale seems to have been finally turned by the empty treasury of legitimacy at the capital and the superabundant resources of the spoiler of the Idolaters. His catapults, instead of projecting hard stones against the city walls, were employed, as toys, in scattering largesses among the greedy multitude, for which purpose the unconverted stars of the southern peninsula¹ were peculiarly appropriate. The Maliks and Amírs, each in his own degree, received retainers, in some instances to the amount of 50 *mans* of gold. And so the Indian world welcomed him, it might be said, in the words of the Latin poet—

“Æra dabant olim; melius nunc omen in auro est;”

Ovid Fast, i 220.

On the 22nd Zi'l hijjah, 695, the new Sultán was formally enthroned in the ancient fort of Prithví Rájá.²

I will not attempt to recapitulate the political events of this long reign; they were of the ordinary character—insurrections,³ invasions of the Mughals, one of which claims a

¹ The daily distribution amounted to پنج من اختر زر “five *mans* of star gold.” See also note under coin No. 131, page 169

² Táríkh 'Aláí; Elliot's Historians, iii 69.

³ One of these revolts was nearly fatal to the Sultán's life, another was so far remarkable that, while the Sultán was occupied in the siege of Rantambhor, a

'ALÁ UD DÍN MUHAMMAD'S ENFORCED RATES OF PRICES OF PROVISIONS,
ETC

	^{A H} 703 716	^{A D} =1303-1316
Wheat, <i>حطه</i>	per man	7½ <i>gitala</i> ^s
Barley, <i>حو</i>	"	4 "
Rice, in husk, <i>شالی</i>	"	5 "
Mash, <i>ماش</i> , vetch (<i>Phaseolus radiatus</i>).	"	5 "
Nakhud, <i>نخود</i> , pulse (<i>Cicer arietinum</i>)	"	5 "
Moth, <i>موته</i> , lentil (<i>Phaseolus aconitifolius</i>)	"	3 "
Sugar, <i>شکرتری</i>	per sir.	1½ "
Brown sugar, <i>شکر سرخ</i> (<i>Gur</i>)	"	½ "
Butter, <i>روغن ستور</i> , <i>Ghi</i> (<i>گھی</i>)	2½ <i>sirs</i> .	1 "
Oil of Sesamum, <i>روغن کنجد</i>	3 "	1 "
Salt, <i>نمک</i>	2½ <i>mans</i> .	5 "

The *gital*, as will hereafter appear, is $\frac{1}{16}$ of a *silver tankah*

¹ Calcutta printed edition of the text of Zia Barni, pp 305, 310, and independent MSS, also Tabakát-i Akbari MS, E I H, No 997, p 61 Briggs's return of the price of wheat is erroneous the *درمی* "per man, of the original had been corrupted into *دومی*, hence the statement of "7½ *gitala* per *domony*"

Elliot's *Historians*, iii. 192 The Bombay text of Ferishta is right in the *درمی*, p 196 See also *Jour As Soc Bengal*, 1870, p 25, Major Fuller's excellent translation of Zia Barni, with comments by Dr Blochmann I have adopted Dr Blochmann's emendation of the Persian text of the *Bibliotheca Indica*

as far as refers to *نمک* '2½ after *نمک* "salt," in lieu of the printed 'Alá-u-*شکرتری* which, however, is very constant in the various MSS but I retain *شکرتری* needless for here to the pronunciation of *Kohrdm*, on the faith of the local speech already *Sullan* ۱۷

of 175 grs.; at the exchange of 2s. per *tanlah*, the *jital* would therefore correspond in value to $1\frac{1}{2}$ farthing, or rather less, as the 2s. is a very high rate of exchange for the old silver piece. The Dehli *sir*, of an approximate date, is stated to have been 70 *miskāls*, and the *man* 40 *sirs*.¹ Now, taking the weight of the *miskāl* at the even average of 72 grains, the *sir* would range at 5040 grains (or 720 grains less than the Troy pound of 5760 grains), and the *man* would amount to 201,600 grains, or 35 lbs. troy, and 28 8 lbs. avoirdupois, or a little over the quarter of a hundredweight, or less than half a bushel of wheat.² To complete the evidence contributed by this foreign statician, we must examine a second or alternative test, which he introduces, apparently for the more ready comprehension of the western world, in the form of a parallel estimate of the Indian *man* under its equivalent in Egyptian *dirhams*. Of these latter, 102½ are stated to correspond in weight with the Dehli *sir*. Now, although the *dirhams* of the Mamlūks of Egypt of this period, in their tangible and once current form, would only lead to endless complications as bases of calculation,³ yet the quasi-theoretical scheme of the normal Arabian system of the relative weights of gold and silver coins, gives us a curious approximation to the return obtained from the simple calculation just

¹ Le *ruil* (*roti*) de l'Inde, qui porte le nom de *sir* سر, pèse 70 *miskāls*, qui, estimés en dirhems d'Egypte, en valent 102½. Quarante *sir* forment un *mann* من واحد. On ne connaît pas dans l'Inde la méthode de mesurer les grains —Not et Ext xiii p 212

I see that Colonel Yule, in his "Cathay and the way thither" (Hakluyt Society) ii 458, has adopted the French estimate of the *man*, i e 28 78 lbs

² A bushel of wheat is estimated to weigh 60 lbs avoirdupois —McCulloch, Com Dict. p 1397 Prinsep, with less exact data, made the bushel 60 lbs avoirdupois —Useful Tables, p 113

³ Eighteen specimens I have weighed in the B M, ranging within the period of A H 655 and 747, vary to the extent of from 37 grains up to 63

formulated. Whatever may have been the weight of the *misāl* proper in various localities, in many cases the *dinār* continued to be a *misāl* pure and simple; and theory was ordinarily consistent in recognising the weight of the silver *dirham* as 7-10ths of the gold piece. Under this aspect we have to examine a new scale of proportions. the latest and most exhaustive authority, M Queipo,¹ has fixed the actual weight of the representative Egyptian *misāl* at 4 666 grammes, or 72 007 grains. This return will make the *dirham* equal to 50 405 grains, the *dir*=5174 grains, and the *man*=206,983 grains, or over 29 lbs. avoirdupois. The estimate formed by the French editors of Ibn Batutah,² in regard to that African traveller's independent comparisons of Dehli weights with those of the west, arrives at a closely approximate return. The *man* of Dehli is stated, on repeated occasions in the Arabic text, to be equivalent to 20 Barbary *ratls*, or 25 Egyptian *ratls*, and the former are fixed by the calculations of the modern commentators as corresponding to two-thirds of a French kilogramme of 15,432 35 grains troy, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ *ratls*=1 kilogramme, which makes the *man* equal to 28 78 lbs avoirdupois.

¹ Don V Queipo, in his *Essai sur les Systèmes Métriques et Monétaires des anciens peuples* (Paris, 1859), makes the Almoravide *dinār*, theoretical weight, 3 960 grammes, general weight, 3 946 grammes. The Arabic *dinār*, theoretical weight, 4 250 grammes, general weight, 4 228 grammes. The *misāl* (Arabic) of Egypt, theoretical weight, 4 720 grammes, general weight, 4 666 grammes.

² MM C Defrémery and B R Sanguinetti. Paris edition (Société Asiatique) A.D. 1855.

Ibn Batutah tells us that the *man* of Dehli was equal to 20 *ratls* of Barbary
 11. 74 *ومن دهلے و المن الواحد منها خمسة و عشرون رطلا مصریة*
 و المن عشرون رطلا معریة. 111 p 430. و الرطل الیهدی عشرون رطلا من
 111. 382 *ارطال المغرب و خمسة و عشرون من ارطال مصر*
 and again—*و الرطل الدهلے عشرون رطلا معریة*—117 p 210

I do not follow out in further detail these western comparisons, which are in a measure speculative, as I am satisfied to accept what may be termed the internal evidence as my test. Tried by this criterion, India at the present day furnishes a very complete series of *man* weights,¹ which all the incidental changes of time and the imperfectly preserved units of scattered localities have but very slightly removed from the standard testified to by the intelligent travellers of the middle of the eighth century of the Hijrah.

Any attempt to determine with precision the authoritative weight of the *man* or other measures of grain, must be associated with the crucial test of corroborative coin equivalents. From time immemorial, in India, coins had been, to all intents and purposes, *weights*, pieces of money, in our sense of the term, having grown out of the archaic use of sections of metal of a fixed and determinate gravity, following the popular form of small square or oblong plates of silver, designated by the appropriate name of *Puranas* (पुराण 'old'). But when these crude sections of metal, like the link of the

¹ The local *mans* approximating to this weight still in use in 1891 A D may be cited in alphabetical order

	lbs	oz	dr			lbs	oz	dr
Anjar Bhuj	27	3	8	Madras		25	0	0
Anjengo Travancore	28	0	0	Madurá		20	0	0
Bangalore ..	25	0	0	Mangalor		28	2	4
Belgaum	26	3	15	Negapatam		20	0	0
Bellary	25	6	0	Onor in Canara		28	8	0
" (na : for cotton)	26	5	4	Ujjain		33	5	13
Bombay	28	0	0	Pond cherry		25	14	5½
C rwa, Canara	26	0	0	Quilon Travancore		27	5	8
Canara ord nar 1/	28	0	0	Sankaridrug Carnatic		25	0	0
Cochin, Malabar	27	2	11	Seringapatam—light		24	4	8
Puna (na : for metals)	27	9	9½	heavy		33	15	12
Kotá Ajmir	30	0	0	Trichinopoly		25	0	0

—Prinsep's Useful Tables p 115 and Mr W H Bayley's MS Notes

knight's chain, passed into the more advanced grade of "coined money," they were still scrupulously made to contribute to the double purpose of measures of metallic value and officially recognized weights.¹ Their importance, in the latter capacity, consisting in their furnishing readily available tests of any disputed higher weights or measures, so liable to be tampered with by shopkeepers from all time and among all nations.² So completely was this their second mission accepted in the land, that in later days, under Sikandar bin Buhlöl (A.H. 854-894), the idea was conceived of extending the already mixed duties of the public coinage into a means of determining measures of length, so that the sufficiency of the cloth merchant's yard should be instantaneously checked by the very money of the customer in which he was to receive payment. The earlier phases of these imperfect schemes of exchange, when primitive peoples were first emancipating themselves from the inconveniences of crude barter, and replacing undefined handfuls by specific measures of weight, may be traced back to the first contact of the Aryans and the Indigènes, when the pastoral tribes of the former impinged upon the urban communities of the latter, whose civilization partook so largely of the Turanian element. There is internal evidence in the composite table of weights preserved in "the Laws of Manu," of contributions from the independent resources of both races. Aryan thought, crudely developed at first, confined itself to the ever

¹ There is a special injunction in Manu, addressed to the King—"Let all weights and measures be well ascertained by him, and once in six months let him re-examine them"—Manu, viii. 42.

² 'Ala-ud din had great trouble with this class of his subjects; and among the punishments awarded for short weights, we find a very distinct provision for the pound of flesh. "Whatever was found deficient" in the articles purchased was made up by "flesh equal to the deficiency," cut from the seller's "two cheeks" [buttocks]—Regulation 4, J.A.S.B. 1870, p. 39. Elliot's *Historians*, iii. 197.

ready standard of barley—a grain they held in high honour, and beyond the cultivation of which their herdsmen do not seem to have progressed in the Vedic age.¹ As intelligence advanced, and the subtle faculties of the exotic mind were brought into play, the tendency was clearly towards infinitesimals, so that the checks and counter checks laid down are found to include every shade of variety of the produce of the soil that human ingenuity could set against each other.²

It was the duty of barley to testify against mustard-seed if the latter failed in its full maturity; mustard, in its coloured varieties, had to qualify the poundage of poppy-seed, which again had to go through the severe trial of being pitted against impalpable dust. Encouraged by these tangible minutiae, the Aryan Brahmins seem to have ventured upon the introduction of fanciful and purely imaginary quantities, so that measures of weight vanished into thin air (to an extent to defy the keenest modern Microscopist).³ But in all

¹ Wilson's *Rig Veda*, i pp xli, lvi., and iii p xl. Max Müller (*Chips*, i p 31) renders this as "corn," he does not say wheat. The adherence to reckoning by barley corns is curiously shown in the later Vedic literature, where, in spite of the presence of the *ratī*, "the bar of gold" is defined "as of the size of three barley-corns."—Weber, *Zeitschrift*, xv. (1861), 139. Prof Weber further remarks that the term *masha* is not found at all in texts supposed to be Vedic.

² "Manu, viii 131. Those names of copper, silver, and gold [weights] which are commonly used among men for the purpose of worldly business, I will now comprehensively explain. 132. The very small mote which may be discerned in a sunbeam passing through a lattice is the first of quantities, and men call it a *trasarenu*. 133. Eight of those *trasarenu*s are supposed equal in weight to one minute poppy seed (*śiṣhyā*), three of those seeds are equal to one black mustard seed (*raja sarshapa*), and three of these last to a white mustard seed (*gaurasarsapa*). 134. Six white mustard-seeds are equal to a middle sized barley-corn (*yava*), three such barley-corns to one *kṛishnala* [*raktika*], five *kṛishnalas* of gold are one *masha*" etc.

³ "MANU, YĀJÑAVALKYA, and NĀRADA, trace all weights from the least visible quantity, which they concur in naming *trasarenu* (चसरेणु), and describing as the very small mote which may be discerned in a sunbeam passing through 'a lattice.' Writers on medicine proceed a step further, and affirm that

cases of the more clearly defined weights of Manu, there seems to have been a serious intent and supposed power of proof by the test of seeds, balanced against other varieties of seed. The altered conditions of culture, and the uncertainty of the exact locality which furnished the data for ancient calculations, may deny us the power of reconstructing the general scheme, but there is no doubt that the early tables were designed to supply a normal and ever ready criterion by means of single or multiplied totals of indigenous grains, which from time immemorial had centered in the convenient goldsmith's *ratī*, which, though not exclusively Indian, was of such universal acceptance throughout the continent as to be essentially traditional, and it is from this starting point, or unit in the ascending scale, that the purely Indian weights proceed each, in its turn again, following some readily accessible product of nature peculiar to the soil.

'Ala ud dīn, as we have seen, was particular about his metric system, and probably the full force of ancient methods of reckoning still survived in the existing weights, so that some one description of current money ought so to fit in with and confirm the estimated amount of the *man* as to balance into even sums, or an approach thereto. Neither the 175

a *trasarēnu* contains 30 *paramdn* : or atoms they describe the *trasarēnu* in words of the same import with the definitions given by MANU, and they furnish another name for it, *varsi*. According to them 86 *vansis* make one *marich* : or sensible portion of 1 ght. Writers on medicine trace this weight (the *ratī*) from the smallest sensible quantity in another order

- 30 *paramdnus* or atoms—1 *trasarēnu* or *iansi*
- 86 *iansi*—1 *marich* : or sensible quantity of 1 ght.
- 6 *marich* :—1 *rāgicd* or black mustard seed
- 3 *rāgicds*—1 *shershapa* or white mustard seed
- 8 *shershapas*—1 *yava*, or barley corn
- 4 *yavas* 1 *g* *jd* or *rahtikd*

A *rahtikd* is also said to be equal to 4 grains of rice in the husk. —Sir Wm Jones's Works, vol. p. 370

grain *tanlaḥs* (the old *ṣataraktika*=100 *ratīs*), nor the newly-devised '*adalīs* of 140 grains (80 *ratīs*), will divide into the equivalent number of grains now assigned to the *man*, but, strange to say, the ancient *puranas*, whose modern representatives abound in the coinage of the day, taken at the rate of 32 *ratīs*, or 56 grains, fill in the exact sum of 201,600 grains, without even the break of a fraction, either in the totals of the *sir* or the *man* 90 *puranas* represent the *sir*, and 3,600 give the measure of the *man* The *ratīs*, however, in either case are uneven, viz, 2880 and 115200, but this fact need not disturb the result, as the *ratīs* in the higher measures of produce, as in the Għī table, I shall have occasion to quote hereafter from the *Jyotiṣha*, run into all sorts of irregular totals

It may freely be conceded that this intervention of nines and twelves is opposed to the scale of multiples in the *quasi* Turanian division of the Tables of Manu, where the dominant idea among the tangible weights is confined to fours and tens, culminating in three hundred and twenties and three thousand two hundreds, but if another section of the evidence is examined, it will be found that these 56 grain coins do not themselves accord with the theoretical scheme of the associate currency of the first half of the eighth century A H This is a question which will have to be treated more at large later in our inquiry, but it is adverted to in this place as it has an important bearing upon the point immediately at issue On the other hand, if we examine the Tables of Manu in their lower or fanciful divisions, the mystic threes and ordinary sixes are found to be sufficiently frequent, from which figures alone we might infer that the Aryans had originated this portion of the combined table of weights

From whatever source derived, India is seen to have achieved, in very archaic periods,¹ either out of her marked indigenous aptitudes, or her frequent chances of exotic inspiration, a very comprehensive system of weights and measures, extending to the elaboration of a binary Troy scheme,² associated with all the essentials of an independent Avoirdupois theory, which, perhaps wisely, avoided any recognition of measures of capacity

'Alá ud dín Muhammad Shah

No 130 (Marsden, nccr) Gold³ Weights, 168 6, 169 5,
and 166 grs *Dehli*, A H 704, 709, 711

Circular area

سكدر الشابي

نمیس الخلافة ناصر

امیر المومنین

The legend occupies the full
face of the coin

السلطان

علا الدسا و الدسن

ابوالمظفر محمد شاد

السلطان

صرب هذه السكه محصورة دهلى في سنة تسع و سعمائة—*Margin*

¹ The age of Manu is undetermined. Wilson attributes portions of the work to 800 B.C. (Translation, *Rig Veda*, i. p. xlvii.) M. Vivien de St. Martin says "la période des temps héroïques," i.e. 13th and 12th centuries B.C. (*Etude de Paris*, 1859, and *Revue Germanique*, 1861, p. 80). Max Müller (*Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 61, 133, and his Letter in *Morley's Digest* p. cxvii.) Prof. Cowell prefers "3rd century B.C.," but adds that it was "undoubtedly composed from older documents" (*Elphinstone's India*, p. 249). The *Jyotishka* Table, which is given at full in the general summary of Muhammad bin Tughlak's coin weights is also supposed to date some centuries B.C. (*Über den Veda Kalendar*, Namen *Jyotisham*, von A. Weber Berlin, 1862).

² There were separate tables for gold and silver.

³ Prinsep's assay of these gold pieces gives a return of *touch* or pure gold in 100 parts of 94.2. Jalāl ud-dīn (Fīrūz)'s gold is placed at 94.5, while Akbar's average mounts up to 100. 100—*Useful Tables*, ii. 60.

No 131 *Gold* Variety (Small thick coin, pale gold)

Weight, 158 grs Size, 4, or 0.71 inch diameter B M

Legends as in the Metropolitan pieces, but the Persian characters follow a different system of writing, and are very imperfectly defined. These coins seem to have been direct re-mintages of the southern gold *huns*, without any attempt at refining the metal up to the higher Dehli standard.¹ They furnish, in short, another instance of the facilities of the rough system of converting plunder into camp currencies on the instant.

I am indebted to Sir Walter Elliot, S I., for the following note upon the southern "stars," the palpable plunder of the south —

"I do not think the 'Akhtar Zar' can refer to the Star pagoda, which had a very limited range, being confined to the province of Arcot, and appearing after the fall of the last of the independent Hindu kingdoms, when every petty Zamindar began to exercise the privilege of coining money.

"The currency of the Dakhn seems always to have been gold under the Hindus. The standard was the *hún* (in Dravidian, *hon pon*), but the circulation was carried on chiefly by means of its fractional parts, the *panam* or *fanam*, as is the case in Travancore—the only existing normal Hindu state—to this day. There, the dealings of the bazar and the collection of the revenue are all made in *fanams*, but as the labour and trouble of reckoning large sums in such a shape would be intolerable, the cashiers and *seráfs* are pro-

¹ "By the attention of his Majesty (Akbar Sháh) gold and silver are refined to the highest degree of purity. The highest degree of purity is called in Persian *dahdákí* but they do not know above ten degrees of fineness, whilst in India it is called *bárahbani* as they have twelve degrees. Formerly the old *hun*, which is a gold coin current in the Dakhn, was thought to be pure, and reckoned at ten degrees but his Majesty has now fixed it at 8½ and the round, small gold dinár of 'Alá ud dín, which was considered to be 12 degrees, now turns out to be 10½ — *Ain-i Akbari*, *Block nann*, p. 18

vided with wooden boards, the surface of which is studded with 100 or 1000 cavities, the exact size of a *fanam*, which they plunge into the heap of coin, and by a little manual dexterity, take up the exact sum and throw it aside

' In early times, not only the *fanam*, but the half and quarter *fanam* were in use. I have specimens of all of these, bearing the impress of the Chalukya boar, the Pandyan fish, and other effigies of dates far anterior to the Star pagodas. There seems little doubt, therefore, that *أحررر* refers to the sacks of *fanams* which Malik Kafur brought from the south and poured out before the admiring eyes of the king of Delhi, and which the historian has aptly described as showers of "golden stars". Some of the halves and quarters are just like little scales of gold, and a stream of them issuing from the bag in which they were kept would sparkle as they fell. The ancient coins are thinner and finer than the more recent examples.¹

"When the Dewani of the southern districts first came into our hands, at the beginning of the century, the revenue was all collected in *fanams*."

¹ The average weight of the gold *fanam* is 6 grains, of the half *fanam* 3 grains, and the quarter 1½ grains

Tested weights of the gold *fanams* half and quarter *fanams* of S India

Three Buddhist <i>fanams</i> with the impress of a lion and sword	grs	aver	grs
(Numismatic Gleanings Madras Journal No I fig 38)	19 8	=	6 6
One ditto half ditto with lion only (Num Gl I 39)			2 9
Two Chalukya <i>fanams</i> , with the boar (Num Gl II 6-9)	12 6	=	6 3
One ditto quarter ditto (Num Gl II 10)			1 5
One ditto ditto			1 35
Two Chola <i>fanams</i>	16	=	7 5
Two ditto half ditto	6 6	=	3 3
One Chera <i>fanam</i> with elephant			6
Two Pandyan ditto with fish	12 3	=	6 15
Two ditto ditto, with different type	12 7	=	6 35
Two <i>fanams</i> with a fish and monkey	14 4	=	7 2
One ditto ditto a little different			6 8
One quarter ditto fish and monkey type			1 4
S x Velankata <i>fanams</i> , of more recent date, probably of the Bijanagar Rāj	35 3	=	6 883
Four Bahadur <i>fanams</i> , coined by Haider Ali ruler of Mysor • at the Ikera mint	22 8	=	6 7

No 132 (pl iii fig 57, Marsden, nccv) *Silver* Weight, up to 168 grs Common¹ *Dehli* Dates observed, A H 695, 698, 699, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, and 715

• Legends similar to those on the gold currency Areas as usual in the silver money, with a broad margin on the Reverse, as follows —

صرب حدد القصة محصرة دهلې في ستة ائسي عشر وسعمائة

No 133 *Silver* coins similar to No 132, but struck at دارالاسلام (*Dehli*²) in A H 703, 705, 706, 708, 710, 713, 714 Weight, 166 grs

No 134 (*Gold* B M A H 711) Similar coins, in silver, minted at قلعه ديوگر *Deogir*,³ in A H 714 Weight, 167 grs

These coins are remarkable, as affording the earliest specimens available of the Muhammadan coinage of the lately conquered city of Deogir, a capital so peculiarly identified with the history of 'Alā-ud dīn's early rise and eventual accession to sovereignty

The year 711 impressed upon one of the pieces under review offers a date but little removed from the epoch of Nāib Kafur's more comprehensive subjection of the central Indian provinces, of which Deogir then constituted the metropolis

¹ 'Alā ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh seems to have coined money enough for many future generations inasmuch as we find that on Timur's conquest of Dehli, in A H 801, among other plunder specified "vessels of gold and silver, and money with out count, on which was the impression of 'Alā ud-dīn Khiljī ' Zafar Nāmāh of Sherif ud-dīn 'Alī Yazdā (A D 1424) — Translation by Captain Hollings in the *Dehli Archaeological Society's Journal* (1852), p 22

² Ibn Batutah, iii 261 دارالحلافة.

³ Now Daulatabad, in the Dekhan Lat. 19° 57', long 75° 18' — Hamilton's *Hindustān*, ii. 147 The old name was Tagara See also more full notes under Muhammad Tughlak's mint cities

O (Specimen) Inscription of 'Ala ud dīn Muhammad Shah, on the arches at the Kutb dated 10th Shaw'al, A H 710¹

حصرت علما حدانكا سلاطین مصطفی حاد الصادع الامر الله
 المحصوص بعایت اكرم الاكرمين علا الدنيا و الدن عوث الاسلام و
 المسلمین معر الملوك و السلاطین القايم بتائيد الرحمن ابو المطعر
 محمد شاه السلطان سكندر ثانی یمن الخلافة باسرا امر المومنین
 حلد الله ملكه ببا این حررات ست و جماعت است عبارت
 فرمود

Mir Khusrū gives us the following account of the edifices erected and repaired by the Sultān 'Ala-ud dīn —

"The Sultan determined upon adding to and completing the Masjid Jam'i of Shams ud dīn, 'by building beyond the three old gates and courts a fourth, with lofty pillars,' 'and upon the surface of the stones he engraved the verses of the Kuran in such a manner as could not be done even on wood, ascending so high that you would think the Kuran was going up to heaven, and again descending, in another line, so low that you would think it was coming down from heaven. When the whole work was complete from top to bottom, he built other masjids in the city, so strong that if the nine vaulted and thousand eyed heavens were to fall, as they will, in the universe quake, on the day of resurrection, an arch of them would not be broken. He also repaired the old masjids, of which the walls were broken, or inclining, or of which the roof and domes had fallen. He then resolved to make a pair to the lofty minār of the Jama'i Masjid, which minar was then the single celebrated one of the time, and to raise it so high that it could not be exceeded. He first directed that the area of the square before the masjid should be increased, that there might be ample room for the followers of Islam. He ordered the circumference of the new minar to be made

¹ See Vignette, p. 156, *supra*, and Syud Ahmad's work, pp. 21, 27, 58, etc.

double that of the old one, and to make it higher in the same proportion, and directed that a new casing and cupola should be added to the old one' The stones were dug out from the hills, and the temples of the infidels were demolished to furnish a supply He also ordered repairs to be made to all the other masjids and forts throughout the kingdom As the tank of Shams ud dīn was occasionally dry 'Ala ud dīn cleaned it out and repaired it, and erected a dome in the middle of it"—Elliot's *Historians*

Further accounts of Alā ud dīn's completion of the city of Sirī are to be found in Zīā Barnī, *Journal As Soc Bengal*, 1870, p 22, and notices of the buildings at Dehli are also given in Mir Khusrū's other work, the *Kiran us S'adain*, Lucknow edition, p 22 *et seq*

In speaking of the Mosque (at the Kutb) Ibn Batutah states—

"L'emplacement de cette mosquee était un boud khanah, c'est à dire un temple d'idoles, mais, apres la conquete de Dihly il fut convertie en mosquee Dans la cour septentrionale de la mosquée, se trouve le minaret, qui n'a pas son pareil dans toutes les contrees musulmanes le Sultan Kothb eddīn [read 'Ala ud dīn] voulut batur, dans la cour occidentale, un minaret encore plus grand, il en construisit environ le tiers, et mourut avant de l'avoir achevé le Sultan Kothb [Ala] eddīn avait formé aussi le projet de batur une mosquée cathédrale a Siry, surnommé le séjour du Khalifat (دارالخلافة), mais il n'en termina que le mur faisant face à la Mecque, et le mihrab"—Paris edition, in 152

COINS OF THE MOGHUL INVADERS

As the leading object of those human locusts, the Moghuls in their expeditions over the more civilized divisions of Asia, was mere plunder,¹ it was seldom that they left

¹ Dābar's *Memoirs* (Erskine) 69

any record of their raids over the devoted lands beyond the devastation which marked their track. In the case of Khwájah Kutlugh, however, who pushed his forces up to the walls of Dehli, in 697-8 A.H.,¹ to be defeated ignominiously at last by Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh, the hordo over which he ruled seem to have contemplated a more permanent occupancy of Southern soil, and to have established temporary head-quarters at Ghazni: here, and in less permanent camps, they put forth copper money, of which the following are specimens. In addition to these coins, with Persian legends, there are others of similar type and fabric, bearing Mongol characters, amid which the name of *Argún*² (A.H. 683-690) can be distinguished, and which associate themselves with the former currency by similarly placed *Tamghas*, in the form of crude outlines of ᠠᠷᠦᠩ , and more directly with India, in the use of a coarse type of Devanagari letters on the margin.

No. 139. Copper (My cabinet.) Ghazni

ضرب
فی بلد غز
هـ

Small circular centre

ᠠᠷᠦᠩ

Margin—

سکه بام قتلغ خواجہ

¹ Ferishtah, Briggs, i. 329, Zia i-Barni, p. 259, Calcutta text, J A S Bengal, 1869, p. 199, and 1870, p. 43, D Ohsson, ii. 520, Price, ii. 616, De Guignes, iii. 270, Elphinstone's India, 391. A plan of 'Alá-ud-dín's intrenchment, on the occasion of Tughl's investment of Dehli, in A.H. 703, is engraved, in illustration of Mr Campbell's article, in the Jour As Soc Bengal, 1866, p. 217.

² Argún, who held Persia and the proximate lands, is spoken of by Marco Polo as "King of India," cap. i. § 5.

³ A Tibetan ᠠᠷᠦᠩ = ᠠᠷᠦᠩ cāh.

⁴ The Bombay lithographed edition of *Wassaf* gives the correct pronunciation of the name as $\text{قُتْلُغُجِه شَبْرَادِه پسر تَوَا}$. The father's name is properly *Dud*

No. 140 Copper. (Col Stacey's collection Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal)

قتلح

خواجہ

سکہ

Small circular centre

عدلي

Margin—سرب . . . اس

FIFTEENTH KING (A.H. 715 ; A.D. 1315).

The Eunuch Malik Náib Káfúr, the *Hazár Dinari* of early days, when that sum had been recently paid for him, whom we have seen perfidiously watching the failing strength, if not accelerating the end of 'Alá-ud-dín, now proceeded to carry out his schemes with less reserve ; setting aside unhesitatingly those who were fit to reign, even to the exclusion of the publicly installed heir Khizr Khán,¹ he selected as his puppet

¹ This young prince's name is held in pleasant remembrance in the land in connexion with one of the few bits of sentiment the age has left on record. At a time when the rude Turks had given place to the more assimilative Khiljis, who were slowly domesticating themselves in their new home, and in their bolder raids into the depths of the south imperceptibly becoming Indianized, discovering in their progress that there existed a very archaic local nobility, whose chivalry they might well admire, they were led to seek for alliances with the daughters of these ancient houses. In the present instance, a damsel of gentle blood and great repute for beauty, the daughter of the Râja of Guzerât, named *Deval Devi*, on whose behalf armies had already been set in motion, was captured, by hazard, with all her escort and conveyed to Dehli, where her own mother, *Kamali Devi*, by a similar chance, was found established as the favoured wife in the Imperial Palace. In such proximity no wonder that the young heir apparent appreciated her charms and was finally permitted to marry her in all form. The tale of their loves has been made the subject of a Persian poem, of 4,200 verses, the produce

a child, who was placed on the throne under the title of Shaháb-ud-dín 'Umar. Affairs seemed to be promising for the hero of so many southern campaigns, who had brought more plunder into the imperial treasury than even his most acquisitive master, when his own career was unexpectedly brought to a close by the swords of some *Pañls*,¹ thirty-seven days after the death of 'Alá-ud-dín. In the meantime, as the 'rightful successor had been deprived of sight by Káfur, another brother of seventeen, by name Mubáarak, was placed in the position of Regent for the youthful Sultán; but he did not long delay the almost inevitable consummation of a transfer of the crown to his own brow, and 'Umar's capacity to reign was determined for ever by the destruction of his eyes in his prison at Gwalior.

No 141 (pl. in fig 63) Silver and copper. Weight, 54.5 grs

Very rare A.H. 715.

ابوالمظفر	|	السلطان
عمرشاد	•	عظم شهاب الد
السلطان	•	سيماو الدين
۷۱۵	|	

of the prolific pen of Mir Khusrú (715 A.H.), entitled *قصّة حصر جان و دول* "The Story of Khusrú Khán and Dewal Ránu" (Sprenger's Catalogue of Oude MSS p 470). The interest in her tale is, however, sadly shaken by her after fate—the penalty of her beauty—as the enforced wife of two succeeding Sultáns, one the brother and murderer of her husband, the other the foul Pariah, the Usurper, Khusrú, against whom her *Rájpút* blood must, indeed, have risen

SIXTEENTH KING (A.H. 716-720; A.D. 1316-1320).¹

Of all the dangers that beset an Eastern throne, in latitudes like Delhi, none are more fatal to youthful monarchs than the free license of indulgence inseparable from despotism. In a country where morals were confessedly lax, and sensualism was elevated into a study, if not a science; where the enforced idleness of the mid-day hours was eminently suggestive to southern blood, nurtured under a religion which demanded but few denials, and where kings, in their degree, claimed to be khalifs; no wonder that these spiritual superiors sought to anticipate the imagined rewards of the Turk's paradise,² amid the living Houries of the lower world. These, and the coarser vices which descended to odious practices and obscene outrages upon decency, may well be left for us behind the screen of the walls of an Eastern Harem. It is sufficient to say that while the Sultán occupied himself with every variety of degrading debauchery, all power in the State was surrendered to a *Hindu*, who had been elevated, in the first act of the reign, to the style and title of *Khusru*

¹ Zia Barni dates the accession of Kutb ud din Mubarak in A.H. 717 (text, p. 331), but the Editors, very properly, correct this on the authority of Mir Khusru's work, the *زکسپیر*, into 716. The *Tārīkh Mubarak Shāhi* fixes the date, with apparent precision, to the 20th Muharram, 716 A.H. The *Tabakāt Akbari*, *Budawni*, and *Ferishtah*, all follow Zia Barni's error.

² Cap. LV "Revealed at Mecca. They shall repose on couches, the linings whereof *shall be* of thick silk, etc. . . Therein [in the garden of heaven] *shall*

Khán, and who imitated and emulated both the successes of *Kafúr* in the south, and his mastery over the reigning monarch, till, in the end, he personally superintended the murder of his patron, within the private apartments of the palace, and, amid an indiscriminate slaughter of all possible adherents of the old Muhammadan dynasty, ascended the steps of the newly vacated throne

The public incidents of the reign are comparatively unimportant. No Mughals harassed the soil, no famines afflicted the people, but the quiet and prosperity of the land, reflected in the luxury of the capital, excites the regrets of the contemporary historian, who pathetically adverts to the enhanced price of slaves of all degrees and denominations, and the inconvenient average advance of 25 per cent upon the rates of provisions previously established by royal edict

Kutb ud-din Mubarak Sháh

No 142 Gold Weight, 169.5 grs Colonel Guthrie's collection
Square piece *Kutbabád*, A. II 718, 719, 720



Square area.

السُّلْطَانُ اَبْنُ
السُّلْطَانِ الْوَثْقِ
بِاَمْرِ اَمْرِ الْمَوْهَسِ



Entire surface

اَلْاِمَامُ الْاَعْظَمُ
حَلِيقَةُ رَتِّ الْعَالَمِ
قُطْبُ الدِّسَالِ وَالِدِ
اَبُو الْمَطْعَمِ اَرْكَشَادِ

Margin—

صِرْدُ دَدِ fit wa دَتْلَعُ قُطْبُ اَنَادِ فِي سَهْ ثَمَانِ عَشْرٍ سَعْمَايَه

Only three specimens in gold are known—Frohn Num Kuf p 81, pl xci, A H 720, Sir T Metcalf's collection, A H 719, Prinsep's collection, B M

This coin presents us with the name of a new place of mintage. We have no direct means of ascertaining the locality indicated by the designation of *Kutbābād*. This, however, is the less a subject of regret, as there seems good reason to suppose that the term was only momentarily applied to that portion of the many-cited Delhi, which had the honour of constituting the immediate residence of Mubārak Shah.

No 143 (pl iii fig 64) Weight, 170 grs .

Circular piece DEHLI, A H 716, 717

ألكندر الرومان

يمس الخلافة ناصر

أمر المومنين

السلطان الأعظم

قلب الدنيا والدين

أبو المظفر مبارکشاد

السلطان بن السلطان

Margin—

صرب هدد الفضة محصورة دهلي في سنة سبع وعشر وسعمائة

No 144 Silver Circular piece *Dār ul Khilāfat*, A H 717

Legends similar to those on the square piece of 718, No 145, *infra*

No 145 (pl iii fig 65) Silver Weight, 169 grs

Square piece *Dār ul Khilāfat*, A H 718, 719

Area

السلطان ابن

السلطان الوائى

بالله أمر المومنين

الامام الأعظم

حليقة رب العالمين

قلب الدنيا والدين

أبو المظفر مبارکشاد

Margin—

66
for
Se

صرب هدد السكة محصورة دار الخلافة في سنة 64 عشر وسعمائة

No 146 New variety Silver Weight, 168 grs Col Guthrie
Square piece Dar ul Khilafat, A H 717

Area

ماركشاه السلطان

ابن السلطان الوراق

بالحه امير المؤمنين

الامام الاعظم

قطب الدنيا والدين

ابوالمظفر حليته الله

Margin—

صرب عدد الفضة محصرة دار الخلافة في سنة سبع عشر و سعمائة

Whatever 'Alá-ud-dín's designs in regard to new systems of religion may have amounted to, it remained to his son to disavow entirely the spiritual supremacy of all other Khálifs and successors of Khálifs, and to appropriate that title to himself. This is evidenced in coins, Nos 142, 144, 145, 146, which display a simultaneous change from the comparatively humble epithet of "Right hand of the Khálifat," etc., in conjunction with the marginal record of "Struck at the capital, Dehli," to be found on the early coinage of the reign (No 143), to the assumption of the style and title of "The most mighty Imám, Commander of the Faithful," as introductory to his own self-assumed sacerdotal designation of Al Wásik Billah, accompanied by a marginal legend, showing that Dehli in this change had arrived at the honours of a second Baghdad.

This arrogation of hierarchical honours is still more clearly developed on the legends of the coins of the year 718, wherein Mubárák calls himself "Supreme Pontiff," "*Khalifah* of the God of heaven and earth." So that while this eccentric young man was parading himself in female costume, to the scandal of all beholders, when the fit was on him, at

other moments he was devoting himself to superintending the dogmas of Islam, and erecting mosques with a pious zeal worthy of a better cause and more consistent teaching¹

No 147 Silver and copper Weight, 55 grs A H 716

New variety Unique Mr E C Bayley's collection

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم قطب الدسا و الدين

Reverse—ابو المظفر ماركشاد السلطان ٧١٦

No 148 Silver and copper Weight, 55 grs .

A H 716, 717 Rare

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم قطب الدسا و الدين

Reverse—ماركشاد السلطان بن السلطان ٧١٦

No 149 (pl in fig 67) Silver and copper Weight, 55 grs

A H 717, 718, 719, 720

Obverse—الامام الاعظم قطب الدسا و الدين ٧١٧

Reverse—ابو المظفر ماركشاد السلطان بن السلطان

No 150 (pl in fig 68) Silver and copper Weight, 55 grs

A H 717, 718

Obverse—حليته رب العالمين قطب الدسا و الدين ابو المظفر ٧١٧

Reverse—ماركشاد السلطان ابن السلطان الواصل بالله امر المؤمنين

151 Silver Weight, 55 grs Square A H 718, 719, 720

Obverse { Square area قطب الدسا و الدين
Margin, ابو المظفر حليته الله

Reverse—ماركشاد السلطان ابن السلطان

¹ Feri hah says he built a mosque at Deogir, ' which still remains. —Briggs, 1 339 He also appears to have completed the Makbarrah of 'Ala' ud-din with 1 1 Mosque and Madrasah, in 71" A H —Syud Ahmad, p 27

No 151a A similar coin of mine, dated in A H 719, containing a large proportion of silver, weighs no less than 80.5 grams

No 152 Silver and copper Weight, 56 grs
Square A H 720

Obverse—Same legend as No 149

Reverse—*حلى الله مباركشاه السلطان ابن السلطان ٧٢٠*

No 153 (pl III fig 71) Copper Square. Weight, 66 grs

Obverse—*الامام الاعظم*

Reverse—*قطب الدنيا والدين*

No 154 Copper Square Weight, 33 grs

Obverse—*عدل مباركشاه*

Reverse—*محصرة دار الخلافة*

SEVENTEENTH KING (A H 720, A D 1320)

The leading point of interest, in the historical sense, of the present reign, is the sudden and unanticipated re-establishment of Hindu supremacy and the temporary degradation of Muslim prestige. Had the fortuitous representative of the ancient faith been a man of higher status and less objectionable antecedents, the subsequent chronicles of the land might have had to be differently told. If any member of the many royal races, who preserved their tribal integrity in defiance of foreign conquest, and who were already silently reassert

ing their place and position against the diluted nationality of the Imperial Court,—if any such had initiated or been commissioned to lead a crusade for the recovery of India for the Indians, the followers of the Prophet might, perchance, have had to recede within the proper limits of Semitic Islām, now inconveniently placed behind the line those odious Mughals had drawn between Hindústán and the western world. As it was, the unclean *Páriah*,¹ the favoured minion of the departed king, while outraging the new creed he pretended to have adopted, and needlessly offending the one class of supporters of the throne, whom the gold of the Dakhan had often won before, was unable to pretend to association with the high caste Hindú Rájās, whose resources and courage might, at this moment, have proved equal to the restitution of the ancient landmarks, could they but have accepted, as of old, a single prominent leader, to be *Mahárāja Adhiraja* of the scattered kingdoms and principalities which had latterly lost somewhat of their early facility of agglomeration. The Muhammadan biographer of the day is almost pathetic in his horror of *Kuráns* desecrated and used as seats, and pulpits degraded into pedestals for Hindú idols; or the equally grave offence, in the eyes of the faithful, of Khusru's

¹ *برواری*, *परवारी*, "an individual of low caste, chiefly employed as village watchmen, gatekeepers, porters, etc. Of the three terms for this people—*परवारी*, *घेड*, *महार*, "the first is a courteous or conciliating term, the second is a term of reviling, the third a mere appellative without implication." Molesworth's *Maráthi Dictionary*. "The *Purwary* is a Hindoo outcast, who eats flesh of all kinds, and is deemed so unclean as not to be admitted to build a house within the town"— Briggs, *Ferishtah*, i. p. 337, note.

Captain Grant Duff, in enumerating the divisions of castes and trades of the normal village system in the Dakhan, speaks of the *Mhar* or *Dhar* as the very lowest order of Shunkeryatee except the *Mang*, . . . the *Mangs* are not so intelligent as the *Mhars*, . . . both the one and the other . . . are exceeding filthy in many respects."—*History of the Mahrattas*, London, 1826, p. 31

taking to wife the Hindú Princess *Deval Dévi*, the widow of the late Sultán, and the coincident distribution of other Muhammadan women to Idolatrous masters. Amid all these overt acts, the Usurper seems to have outwardly professed Islam, he styles himself *Nasir ud din*, "Defender of the Faith," *Wali Amir al Muminin*, but whether he refers in this term to the late Sultán or to some imaginary "Commander of the Faithful," is not clear, and his titles were repeated in the public prayer with as much formality as if he had been a most orthodox believer.

For the rest, the incidents of his reign are soon told. We have the usual attempt at exterminating all the adherents of the late monarch, profuse distribution of gold, and no effort spared to attach the influential nobles of the old Court. Among the rest, Fakhr-ud-din *Juna*, the son of Gházi beg Tughlak, Governor of Daibalpúr, who chanced to have remained in Dehli, seems to have been either bought over or intimidated, until he had an opportunity of escaping and joining his father, who, supported by the Governor of Uchh, defeated the army of Dehli sent against him, and finally advancing upon the capital, secured an easy victory over the forces of Khusrú, who fled ignominiously from the field only to be dragged out of his place of concealment and beheaded.¹

No 155 (pl iii fig 73) Silver Weight, 145 grs *Unique* A H 720
(Original coin, in the Stacy collection, Asiatic Society of Bengal)
Coarsely finished piece, in apparently inferior metal

¹ The *Turkikh Mubárák Sháhí* fixes the date of Khusrú's accession as 6th of Rabi ul awwal A H 721, and assigns him a reign of four months and some days. The exact date of his execution is not given, but Tughlak Sháh is stated to have been enthroned early in Shabán, 721 A H. Ferishtah has the 1st Shabán

Centre.

خسرو شاد السلطان

الوائق حير الرحمن

ولي امير المومس

السلطان الاتم

ناصر الدنيا والدين

ابو المظفر

Margin— عشرين وسعمائة—

No 156 (pl iii fig 74) Silver and copper Weight, 55.7 grs

Rare

Centre

خسرو شاه

Margin—

السلطان ولي امير المومس

السلطان!

عظم ناصر الدنيا

والدين

EIGHTEENTH KING (A. H. 720-725; A. D. 1320-1325).

Ghází Beg Tughlak, by birth a *Karauntah* Türk,¹ from a very humble start in life, was glad to take service as a private soldier under Ulugh Khán, the brother of 'Alá-ud-dín

¹ قرونة Ibn Batutah, III. p. 201 "Turcs connus sous le nom *Karaounah*, et qui habitent dans les montagnes situées entre le Sind et le pays des Turcs" See also Lee, p. 125 Marco Polo's account of this tribe is that their Tartar aires followed Nagodar, the nephew of Zagatai, and settled in these parts, "these being men of a light complexion, mixing with the dark Indian women, produced the race to whom the appellation of *Karaunas* is given, signifying, in the language of the country, a mixed breed, and these are the people who have since been in the practice of committing depredations not only in the country of Reo-

Khiljī; his courage and capacity, however, speedily won him a general's baton, and we find him promoted in the early days of Kutb-ud-dīn Mubárah to the important frontier command of Daibalpūr, as Lord of the Marches destined to receive the first shock of the dreaded Mughals. From this position, his victorious advance upon Dehli, and final defeat of Khusru, left him almost without a competitor for the vacant throne, which, with some possibly feigned reserve, he was finally induced to accept. His rule was inaugurated by wise regulations, tending to the relief and well-being of the cultivators of the soil, whose importance in the body politic was now beginning to dawn upon the Muslim mind; indeed, the Hindú subjects were gradually reasserting their proper position in the social scale, in defiance of the prejudices of their now partially naturalized foreign rulers. This, however, did not in any way interfere with the habitual raids to the south, which seem to have been looked upon as a necessary departmental section of the administration of the empire. The heir apparent, Fakhr-ud-dīn Júná, now designated as *Ulugh Khán*, was entrusted with this command, the Military Viceroyalty of the Dakhan, and started for Warangol on his first expedition in A.H. 721. Almost his earliest thoughts in this independent position savoured of

barbe (Rudbár) but in every other country to which they have access" Marsden (1818), pp 87, 90, Bohn's edition, p 60; D'Ohsson, iv. 46, Onseley, Oriental Geography, p 140, Sherrif-ud-dīn's Timur Bee, c. xlv., Pottinger, pp 58, 139, Ferner, Caravan Journeys, 1857, pp 413, 431.

Shams-i Siráj 'Afif mentions in his Tārīkh Firáz Sháhi that he has given a full account of the parentage of Tughlak Sháh in his Manákib-i-Sultán Tughlak. No copies of this work have been discovered —Elliot's Historians, iii. p. 271

The Khulāsat al Tawárikh speaks of a tradition that his mother was a Jatni of the Punjab پدر سلطان ترك نژاد باسم تعلقی از غلامان سلطان غیاث
الدین بلبن و مادر او از قوم حث پنجاب بود

treason to his sire¹ Warangol was invested, and on the point of surrendering, when certain parties to the immature conspiracy lost heart and separated themselves from the Muhammadan camp, which left Ulugh Khan no resource but a hasty and calamitous retreat to Deogir, from whence he succeeded in effectually blinding his father as to his real designs by supplying him with a sufficient number of minor victims for his vengeance. The second invasion of the south was more successful, Bidr and Warangol were captured, and Laddar Déo, with his elephants and treasures, wives and children, was sent to the Sultan at Dehli, and the Hindu name of Warangol was obliterated for a short period in the new designation of Sultanpur.

In 724 A H the Sultán proceeded in person to Bengal, where he received the submission of Shaháb ud dín *Bughrá Shah*,² and carried the turbulent *Bahadur Shah*, King of

¹ This is Ibn Batutah's account (ii. 208). Zifá Barni veils the damaging fact under general details.

² I have already adverted to Zifá Barni's mistakes in regard to the individual monarch then reigning in Bengal: the original error may very well have arisen from the similarity of the names of the grandfather and grandson. I append without further comment the passage in question as translated by Professor Dowson. When the Sultán reached Tirhut the ruler of Lakhnauti Sultán Násir ud-dín, came forth with great respect to pay homage to the Sultán and without the sword being called into requisition all the *Rois* and *Ranas* of the country made their submission. Tátár Khán foster son (*pissar* : *khudánda*) of the Sultán, held the territory of Zafarábád and a force having been assigned to him he brought the whole country under the imperial rule. Bahádur Sháh the ruler of Sunár-gánw made some resistance but a cord was thrown upon his neck and he was conducted to the Sultán. All the elephants of the country were sent to the royal stables and the army acquired great spoil in the campaign. Sultán Násir ud-dín had shown great respect and submission, so the Sultán gave him a canopy and a baton sent him back, and placed Lakhnauti under his rule. Bahádur Sháh the ruler of Sunár-gánw was sent to Dehli with a rope round his neck, and the Sultán returned towards his capital triumphant. —Elliott's *Historians*, i. 123.

Eastern Bengal, captive to Dehli. On setting out upon this expedition to Bengal, the Sultán had infatuatedly installed Ulugh Khán as Viceroy at Dehli. The latter waited for his long sought opportunity, till his father's return in triumph to the capital, when he advanced to meet him in equal state and ceremony the conventional *one* stage on the way. Having erected a pavilion for his reception, cunningly devised to fall and crush its occupants, the Sultán and his favourite son fell easy victims to the trap, whose mechanism too effectually fulfilled its mission.¹

No. 157. Pale gold. Weight, 172·4 grs B.M. A coarse coin.

Obverse—السلطان الغازى غياث الدنيا و الدين ابو الظفر

The Sultán, the Ghází, Ghiás ud dunya wa ud dín
Abú-I Muzaffar

Reverse—سكدر الثانى يمين الخلافة ناصر امير المؤمنين

The Second Alexander, right-hand of the Khiláfat,
supporter of the Commander of the Faithful.

Margin— مزب هذه ال

This is, perhaps, the most curious hybrid piece in the entire series, exemplifying, as it does, the extreme haste resorted to in the preparation and issue of coin on the accession of a new king. In this instance there was less need of such secondary demonstration, as the elevation of Tughlak Sháh was virtually unopposed; and yet we see the State officials so precipitating the Numismatic proclamation of their chosen Sovereign as to put forth money with his name on the obverse, coupled with the incongruous titles of a former Sultán, one of whose obsolete reverse stamps has been made to do duty, on the urgency of the moment, while an appropriate die was in course of completion, which should set forth consistently the

¹ Zia Darni suppresses the fact of the intention, but Ibá Batutah is frank and outspoken on the subject.

titular designations approved of by the reigning monarch, which clearly followed, in their pious tenour, a very different order of ideas to the vain glorious boasts of resuscitated Alexanders or other arrogant assumptions of Pontifical precedence

No 158 Gold Weight 170 2 grains Very rare
A H 721

Obverse—السلطان السعيد الشهيد العارى عماث الدنيا و الدن

The Sultan, the fortunate, the testifier, the Ghazî,
Ghuâs ud dunya wa ud din

Reverse—Area, أبو المطر بعلم شاه أبار الله برهانه ٧٢١

Abu l Muzaffar Tughlak Shâh May God illumine
his testimony 721

Margin—عشرى و سعمائه ضرب هذه السكه

No 159 Gold Weight, 168 8 grs DELHI, A H 721, 724, 725

Circular area

Square area

تعلق شاه

السلطان العارى

السلطان ناصر

عماث الدنيا والدن

امير المومنين

ابو المطر

Margin—

ضرب هذه السكه محصورة دهلى فى سنة احدى وعشرين و سعمائه

No 160 Silver Weight, 170 2 grs Rare Deogir, A H 721
Area

على شاه

السلطان العارى

السلطان ناصر

عماث الدنيا والدين

امير المومنين

ابو المطر

Margin—

ضرب هذه السكه بقلعة ديوگر فى سنة احدى وعشرين و سعمائه

No 161 (pl. in fig 78) Silver Weight, 170 grs (Several specimens range as high as 169.8 grs) Rare Similar coin to No 160, but struck at Dehli in A H 722, 723, 724

Margin—

صرب هذه السكه محطرة دهلى فى سنة اربع وعشرين وسعمائة

No 162 Silver Weight, 162 grs Colonel Guthrie

A Bengal coin

Following the ordinary details of the Imperial mintage, but marked both in shape, weight and fashion of the letters in its identity with the provincial coinage. The marginal records are obliterated, but there can be little hesitation in associating these pieces with Tughlak Shah's expedition to Bengal

No 163 (pl. in fig 79) Silver and copper Weight, 54 grs

A H 720, 721

*Obverse—*السلطان العارى عمات الدبا والدين ٧٢٠

*Reverse—*Area, تعلق شاه

*Margin—*श्री. सुलता गयासुदी *Srīh Sultān Gyāsudīn*

No 164 (pl. in fig 80) Silver and copper Weight, 55 grs

Dates observed, A H 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725¹

*Obverse—*السلطان العارى عمات الدبا والدين

*Reverse—*ابوالمظفر تعلق شاه السلطان

No 165 (pl. in fig 81) Copper Weight, 53 grs Rare

*Obverse—*تعلق

*Reverse—*شاه

¹ In two well ascertained instances the *unit* runs on to 726. Mr. Freeling long ago observed the *one* example, and Major Stubbs's latest selections furnish a *second* and indubitable instance of the insertion of a final ٦=6. I do not, however, attach any importance to these crude definitions of the ٦, which may well have been a mere ignorant rendering of a legitimate *r*=2.

P Ibn Batutah has preserved a record of an inscription of this monarch on the Jam'i Masjid, at Multán which he states he had himself seen, to the following effect —

أبى فابلتُ السرتسعا وعشرين مرة فرستم فحشد سميت بالملك
العارى

I have encountered the Tatars on twenty nine occasions and defeated them, hence I am called Malik al Ghazi (in 202)

Ziá Barni has a passage much to the same effect, p 416, text

We have no extant inscriptions of this Sultán, but he has left a very imperishable memorial of his reign in the stupendous Fort of Tughlakabád the construction of which is stated by the author of the Tarikh Mubárak Shahi to have occupied a period of more than three years. The site of the town is prominent on the accompanying plan of Dehli situated four miles due east of the Kutb Minar and ten miles south of the modern city. The fortress is built of enormous blocks of sandstone cut from the surrounding hills, and within the citadel, which is connected with the fort by a viaduct of twenty seven arches, is placed the equally solid mausoleum of the king. The whole undertaking, however, proved eminently futile as his son removed his Court to the old city within forty days after his accession ¹

¹ Syud Ahmad s *Asár us Sanadeed* p 29 Ferguson s *History of Architecture* II. p 653

BENGAL COINS.

I have to bring up the arrears of no less than three Bengal kings, who flourished in undisturbed obscurity as far as imperialism at Dehli was concerned, and to resume the thread of the local history, severed for the time being, with the reign of 'Alá-ud-dín (p. 154).

II. SHAMS-UD-DIN FIRUZ.

We gather from Ibn Batutah's chronicle, already quoted at page 146, that Shams-ud-dín Fírúz, the son of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd *Bughrá Khán*, was reigning in Western Bengal at the period of Muhammad bin Tughlak's abortive revolt against his own father in 721-2 A.H. To his Court fled many of those faint-hearted nobles who hesitated to carry out their treason in the face of real or imaginary difficulties. Beyond this we learn but little of his power, or the prominent events of his reign; indeed, his coins alone establish the fact of his possession of Lakhnauti during the period embraced between the years 702-722, and (at some moment) of his ownership of the Eastern Province of Bengal represented by the mint of Sonárgáon. A subordinate incident is developed in the legends of the coins, that he felt himself sufficiently firm in his own power to discard the supererogatory adjuncts of descent or relationship, and relied upon the simple affirmation of his own position as *the Sultán* السلطان.

Shams-ud-din Firúz Sháh.

No 166 (pl. vi fig 3) Silver. Weight, 168·4 grs
Lakhnauti, A H 702,¹ 715, (Col Bush) 720, 722.

REVERSE.	OBVERSE
الامام	السلطان الاعظم
المستعصم	شمس الدنيا و الدين
امير المؤمنين	ابو المظفر فروز شاه
	السلطان

Margin—[سعماية] و سرب هدا الفضة بحصرت لكهوتى ستة عشرين

No 167 Silver. Weight, 168 grs. Unique
Sonárgáon, A H. ? Type as above.

III SHAHAB-UD DIN BUGHRAH SHAH

Neither history, incidental biography, nor numismatic remains avail to do more than prove the elevation, as they seem to indicate the brief and uneventful rule, of Shaháb-ud-dín, the son of Shams-ud-dín Fírúz, and grandson of the once recognized heir apparent of Balban.

The singularly limited number of the coins of this prince, confined—if the original Calcutta selections be not at fault²—

¹ See also Pathán Sultáns of Hindústán, old edition, p 37, coin dated 702 A H. This coin was first published in 1848. I then read the date as 702 A H. I was not at the time unversed in the decipherment of Arabic numbers, and probably from the very difficulty of placing the piece itself, I may the more rely upon the accuracy of my original interpretation. I mention this fact, as I am at present unable to refer to the coin itself.

² The name of this king does not appear in any of the lists contributed by Babú Rajendra Lal, who was commissioned to make a selection of the more remarkable coins from the grand total above named.

to three examples amid the 13,500 accumulated specimens of the currencies of other kings of the land over which he temporarily held sway, sufficiently mark his status in the general list of the potentates of the century in which he lived. No date or place of mintage is preserved on his extant money, and the single additional item supplied by their aid is his personal or proper name, which appears on their surfaces as بعدد; a crude outline which might suggest a doubt as to the conclusiveness of the transcription of *بغدر*, now confidently adopted as expressing an optional rendering of the grandfather's title of *بغراخان*,¹ a name which was even further distorted from the Tūrki original by the conversion of the medial *r* into the vernacular cerebral *ṣ* or *ḍ*=*d*. For the rest, the pieces themselves, under the mechanical test, in their make, the forms of their letters, and the tenour of their legends, evidently follow closely upon Shams-ud-dīn's mintages, and as clearly precede the money of the same locality, issued by Ghīās-ud-dīn Bahādur Shāh, who, in 724 A.H., drove this, his own brother, Shahāb-ud-dīn, to take refuge with the Sultān, Ghīās-ud-dīn Tughlak Shāh.² Bahādur's career has yet to be told in connexion with his own coins; but to dispose of Shahāb-ud-dīn,³ as far as the exercise of his

¹ The ancient name of *طغاج بغيراخان* of Bokhāra notoriety in 350 A.H. (Friedrich Recensio Numorum Muhammadanorum, pp 139, 593, 578), was subjected to strange mutations on Indian soil. My authority for the substitution of the final *ḡ* in place of the vowel *ī* is derived from Ibn Batutah, who uniformly writes the word with an *ḡ* (iii 231-5, 293). Ferishta (text, p 131) has *بغيرا*, whence Stewart's *Bagora* (p 74). Dow gave the name as *Kera*, and Briggs as *Kurra* (i. pp 265, 270, etc).

² Those who delight in interesting coincidences might see, in this name of Shahāb-ud-dīn, a most tempting opportunity for associating him with a really important record by the Indigènes themselves, inscribed on a stone slab in the

mint prerogatives are concerned, he seems to have abdicated any such rights from the date when he claimed the aid of his

fort of Chunâr, setting forth their victory over a "*Malik*" Shahâb ud-dîn, quoted as acting under Muhammad bin Tughlak, in Samvat 1390 (A.H. 734), but I confess I do not myself encourage the identification. Chunâr is certainly not out of the range of access from Bengal, but other men of mark may have filled this command, and the name of the fortress itself is never heard of in reference to the affairs of the kingdom of Lakhnauti, in those early days, though the main road of communication between the two capitals of the north and the south took its course through Badâon or Kanauj and Jaunpore. The inscription is otherwise well worthy of further examination, in as far as it concerns the history of imperial influence upon proximate localities, and as such I transcribe both the text and Dr. Mills's translation of the brief passages which chance to illustrate the general subject.

Verse 5

सहावदीनादिदुष्टात्मयवनेन्द्रमहम्मदा ।

सैराजो मि[लितोऽम]त्यो वैरिणापि ह्यपानिधिः ॥

"By MUHAMMAD, lord of the hostile Yavanas SHAHÂB-UD-DÎN and the rest, though an enemy, was SAIKÂJA, the treasure of benignity, employed as prime minister."

Verse 11

सवत् १३९० भाद्रपदि ५ गुरौ सैराजदेवनगर

यागंतमलिकसहावदीनरचितं ॥

"Samvat 1390, in the month of Bhadra, fifth day of the waning moon, on Thursday, was the kingdom set free from MALIK SHAHÂB UD DÎN, acting under the protecting favour of SAIKÂJA DEVA aforesaid."

—(See Journal As Soc Bengal, vol v, 1836, p 341.)

There were several *Shahâb ud-dîns*, men of prominence in these days. Among the rest **ملك شاب الدين سلطان** at the Court of Tughlak Shâh (Zîâ Barnî, text, p 424) Subsequently described as **سرتاجان ملك** (p 454) in the official lists of Muhammad bin Tughlak's nobles and mentioned by Ferishtah as having been invested with the *Jagir* of Nûsârî (text, 1 p 238, Briggs, 1. p 412) *Nusari*, if it is correctly placed in 73° 1'—21° 0', would scarcely, however, associate his scene of action with Chunâr (83°—25° 5'). Later in point of time, there was a Shahâb ud-dîn, *Multanî*, who was entitled *Nasrat Khan*, and entrusted with the charge of Bidr in A.H. 742 (Ferishtah, 1 424), and who very shortly rebelled against his lord (Elliot's *Historians*, iii 247).

Suzerain, and though Zia Barni¹ affirms that he was eventually reinstated in his dominion, it is not clear under what terms and conditions he was permitted to hold his delegated rank

Shahab ud din Bughrah Shah

No 168 (pl vi fig 4) Silver Weight, 168.5 grs

Mint (illegible) Two coins only, Col Guthrie

Type as usual

OBVERSE

السلطان الاعظم
شمس الدین والدین
ابوالمطهر بعدہ شاہ
السلطان بن سلطان

REVERSE

الامام
المستعصم
امیر المومنین

Margin, (remainder illegible) ضرب ہمدان

IV BAHADUR SHAH

The single point in the biography of Bahádur Sháh which remains at all obscure is the date of his first attaining power. Ibn Batutah records, with sufficient distinctness, that he con-

¹ و سلطان ناصر [شاه] الدین صابط لکھوتی را چہرودہ رنہاش داد و لکھوتی بدو حوالہ فرمود و ہار فرساک و ستکانو و سارکانو صابط شد

Calcutta text, p 451

و بعلی شاد ناصر [شاه] الدین را چتر دادہ بطریق رمان مان لکھوتی را باقضاءش مقرر داشت و ہر محافظت سارکانو و کور مکالہ باور حوج کرد

Ferishtah, Bombay text, p 234

Briggs's version differs materially from the original text (i 406)

quered and set aside his regnant brother *Shabáb-ud-dín*, at some time prior to Ghíás-ud-dín Tughlak's reassertion of the ancient suzerainty of Dehli over the lightly-held allegiance of Bengal, and his eventual carrying away captive the offending Bahádur, who was, however, soon to be released and restored with added honours,¹ by Muhammad bin Tughlak, shortly after his own accession. Indian home-authors, who so rarely refer to the affairs of the Gangetic delta, give vague intimations of the first appointment of Bahádur to Eastern Bengal by 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad in A.H. 709,² assigning to him an inconceivable interval of placid repose until A.H. 717, when he is stated to have broken out into the turbulent self-assertion for which he was afterwards so celebrated. But, as we have seen how manifestly wrong the Court chroniclers were in the matter of Násir-ud-dín's prolonged reign, we may freely accept Ibn Batutah's statement as the most readily reconcilable with probabilities, and the demands of the, up to this time legible, dates on the coins which Bahádur put into circulation in Bengal. I might have some doubt as to the conclusiveness of the reading of the date 710 on his money in the Kooch Bahár *trouaille*, but I have none as to the clear expression of A.H. 711 and 712, though the singular break occurring between 712 (or 714) and 720 suggests a suspicion of an originally imperfect die-rendering of the عشر = 10 for عشرين = 20,³ which would bring

۱ چون سلطان بهادر سارکامی را بملک اوده رخصت کرد آنچه

در نقد در خزانه بود بمبار در انعام اوداد
Tabakát-i-Akbari

See also Zifá Barni, printed edition, p. 461

² Stewart, p. 75, Fernshtah (Briggs), i. 408

³ Among more critical Arabic scholars than the Bengal mint masters ever affected to be, this point would have been easily determined by the insertion or

the corrected range of Bahádur's dates to 720-724; but even these figures leave something to be reconciled in reference to their associate places of mintage, for in 720-722, his father, Shams-ud-dín Firúz, was clearly in possession of the already commemorated "*Lakhnauti*;" but such an anomaly might be explained by the supposition that Bahádur, in the earlier days, used the name of *Lakhnauti* as a geographical expression for a portion of the dominions ordinarily administered from that capital. Undoubtedly the first appearance of the contrasted designation of the eastern capital, "*Sonárgáon*," occurs on the coinage of his father; but even this sign of discrimination of urban issues would not be altogether opposed to a continuance by Bahádur of the loose usage of Camp Mints, of naming the metropolis as the general term for the division at large, or inconsistent with the subsidiary legitimate employment of the designation of the province on a coinage effected anywhere within its own boundaries,—either of which simple causes may have prevailed, and been utilized with a new motive, if any covert ulterior meaning chanced to be designed, as implying that Bahádur himself had special successional or other claims to the metropolitan districts.

Tughlak Sháh's intervention in the affairs of Bengal seems to have originated in an appeal on the part of the ejected Shaháb-ud-dín against the usurpation of his brother Bahádur. The result of the Imperial expedition to the south was the defeat, capture, and transport to Dēhli of Bahádur Sháh; but among the first acts of the new Sultán, Muhammad bin Tughlak, was the release and re-installation of the offender, showing clearly that he was something more than an ordi-

nary local governor, transferable at will, and that possibly the interests of the Imperial father and son, in their newly established dynastic rank, and the confessed insubordination of the latter, were independently advocated by the opposing members of the royal line of Bengal, whose family tree could show so much more ancient a series of regal successions than their parvenu Suzerains, whose elevation dated scarce five years back. One of the most interesting illustrations of the present series is contributed by coin No. 186, in the legends of which Bahádur acknowledges the supremacy of Muhammad bin Tughlak over Eastern Bengal during A.H. 728.¹ The subjection seems, however, to have been of brief duration, as, sometime in or after the year A.H. 730, Bahádur appears to have reverted to an independent coinage, in a new capital called after his own title *Ghíáspúr* (coin No. 170), and in A.H. 733 Muhammad bin Tughlak is found issuing his own coin in Bengal, and Bahádur, defeated and put to death, contributed an example to insurgent governors in his own skin, which was stuffed and paraded through the provinces of the empire

¹ Ibn Batutah gives the following additional particulars of Bahádur's re-installation — "Il [Muhammad bin Tughlak] lui fit de nombreux cadeaux en argent, chevaux, éléphants, et le renvoya dans son royaume. Il expédia avec lui le fils de son frère, Ibráhím Khán, il convint avec Behádour Bourah qu'ils posséderaient ledit royaume par égales moitiés, que leurs noms figureraient ensemble sur les monnaies, que la prière serait faite en leur nom commun, et que Ghíyáth eddin enverrait son fils Mohammed dit Berbath (برباط), comme otage près du souverain de l'Inde. Ghíyáth eddin partit, et observa toutes les promesses qu'il avait faites, seulement il n'envoya pas son fils, comme il avait été stipulé. Il prétendit que ce dernier s'y était refusé, et, dans son discours, il blessa les convenances. Le souverain de l'Inde fit marcher au secours du fils de son frère, Ibráhím Khán, des troupes dont le commandant était Doldjí attatary (دُلْجِي التتري). Elles combattirent Ghíyáth eddin et le tuèrent, elles le dépouillèrent de sa peau, qu'on rembourra de paille, et qu'on promena ensuite dans les provinces." — Vol. III. p. 316

Bahádur Sháh.

No. 169. Silver. Size, vii. to viii. Weight, ordinarily, 166 grs. ; one example is as high as 167·5 grs. Rare. Lakhnauti, A.H. 710,² 711, 712, 7-3, 7-4¹ (*break*), 720, 721, 722.

OBSERVE.

السلطان الاعظم
 عياش الدنيا والدين
 ابو المظفر تبادر شاه
 السلطان بن سلطان

. REVERSE.

الامام
 المستعصم
 امير المؤمنين

Margin—ضرب هذا الفضة بحضرت لکھنوتی سنہ اُحد عشر و سبعمائة—

No. 170 (pl. vi. fig. 5). Silver. Weight, 166 and 164·5 grs. Very rare. Two coins. Col. Guthrie. Second mint, Ghíáspúr, Date, 730.

Margin—* هذا السكة تصبه عياشور سنة ثلاثين *

I have reserved for its more appropriate place among Muhammad bin Tughlak's own series of silver pieces the remarkable medal struck by Bahádur Sháh in honour of his Suzerain in A.H. 728 (No. 186, p. 215).

¹ The dates 7-3, 7-4, may, perchance, be obliterated records of 723, 724. I have placed them among the lower figures, but I have no sanction for retaining them in that position.

NINETEENTH KING (A.H. 725-752; A.D. 1324-1351)

The destinies of India were surrendered for twenty-seven years to the eccentric domination of Muhammad bin Tughlak, a man of mark apart from his kingship—generous to profusion, an accomplished scholar, abstinent, a stern defender of his faith, and the most experienced general of his day. Against these many merits had to be set a determination which hesitated at no means in the compassing of his own ends—a ferocity possibly inherited from the desert tribes, which could conceive no punishment effectual but death, combined with a perversion of intellect which induced him to allow despotism to run into insane fury at any sign of opposition to his will. His mind was cast to know no mercy or compassion as a judge, and he was led to carry out his best intentioned measures with an utter disregard of human suffering, as instanced in the transportation, in some cases with brutal violence, of the inoffensive citizens of Dehli, *en masse*, for the mere purpose of filling his newly created city of Deogir;¹ or the extermination of whole tribes as if they had

¹ The following account of Ibn Batutah, who was in part an eye witness of the transactions referred to, will give some idea of the horrors perpetrated in carrying out this edict —“The Sultán ordered all the inhabitants to quit the place, and upon some delay being evinced, he made a proclamation, stating that what person soever, being an inhabitant of that city, should be found in any of its houses or streets, should receive condign punishment. Upon this they all went out, but his servants finding a blind man in one of the houses and a bedridden one in another, the Emperor commanded the bedridden man to be projected from a balista, and the blind one to be dragged by his feet to Daulatábád, which is at the distance of ten days, and he was so dragged, but his limbs dropping off by the way, only one of his legs was brought to the place intended, and was then thrown into it, for the order had been that they should go to this place. When I entered Dehli it was almost a desert.” “Its buildings were very few, in other

been vermin, whose single hope of salvation, in this world, was the profession of Islám

In the early portion of his reign he held in full subjection an empire far more magnificent than had been given to any of his predecessors circumstances, however, were adverse to the permanence of his power The dominion covering twenty-three provinces,¹ or independent nationalities, became, in the

respects it was quite empty —Dr Lees's edition *Oriental Trans Fund*, p 144 French edition, in p 310

¹ Siradj eddin Abu Istah Omar natif de la province de Oud عوص, qui avait vécu a la cour du Sultan de Dehli nous apprend que les états de ce monarque se composaient de vingt trois provinces principales, savoir

1 Dehli	افلم دھلی	13 Badaon	افلم بداون
2 Deogir	دیوگر	14 Oude	عوص
3 Multan	الملتان	15 Kanauj	العوج
4 Kohram	کرام	16 Lakhnauti	لکھوتی
5 Samanah	سامانہ	17 Bihâr	بہار
6 Siwistân	سوسان	18 Karrah	کرہ
(Sehwan)		19 Malwa	ملاوہ
7 Uchh	اوحہ	20 Lâhor	لاہور
8 Hansi	حاسی	21 Kalanur	کلانور
9 Sirsati	سرسی	22 Jajnagar	جاجنجر
10 Malabâr	المعبر	23 Telinga	تلنگ
11 Telinga	تلنگ	24 Dwara	دورسمند
12 Gujerat	گجرات	Samanda	

—Not et Ext. xiii p 170 Z & Barni's list is less complete

1	دھلی	7	دھورسمندر
2	گجرات	8	معبر
3	مالوہ	9	برہم
4	دیوگر	10	لکھوتی
5	تلنگ	11	ستکانو
6	کپلہ	12	سارکانو

—Zia Barni, pp 467, 473 Calcutta text

The author of the *Masâlik ul Absâr* in another part of his work, while

very number of its sections, essentially incoherent Local feudatories had of late been superseded by governors appointed by the head of the State, and the selection of fitting and trustworthy representatives was attended by far greater risks than of old, now that the national bond, so effective among the ruling classes under the dynasty of the Túrks, had disappeared amid the dissensions of Túrkh and Khiljí,

speaking of his means of obtaining information upon Indian matters, remarks —

“Des voyageurs de notre pays (Egypte) se rendent continuellement dans l'Inde aussi sommes nous parfaitement instruits de ce qui se passe dans cette contrée (p 202) It must be remembered, also, that these data must have been committed to writing within a very brief interval after the return of the several contributors, as the compiler of the *Masálik ul Absár* died about the same time as Muhammad bin Tughlak himself (that is to say, in A H 749, or, at latest, 752) His informants seem to have been very favourably impressed with the high standard of civilization existing in Dehli, one of whom deposes, ‘les habitants de Dehli se distinguent par leur esprit et leur intelligence la sagesse de leurs réflexions, la netteté de leurs idées. Ils s'expriment avec élégance en langue persane et en langue indienne (p 217) But the most distinct test of their cultivation is afforded by the accomplishments of the women of whom the Africans speak with great admiration The author continues—

‘Je demandai à chacun de ces voyageurs, en particulier, comment une esclave femelle pouvait atteindre cette valeur (20 000 *talak* ou même davantage), dans un pays où tout était à si bon marché, chacun me répondit que cette différence tenait à ce que ces jeunes filles se distinguaient par la beauté de leurs formes et la grâce de leurs manières que pour la plupart, elles possèdent l'Alcoran, savent écrire, récitent des vers, des histoires excellent dans la musique vocale, savent pincer du luth, jouer aux échecs et aux d's Ces jeunes esclaves sont toutes fières de réunir ces qualités brillantes

Les femmes de l'Inde, sous le rapport de la beauté l'emportent sur celles de Turquie et du Kaptchak, en outre, elles se distinguent par une grande instruction et une extrême variété de talents (p 200)

In a later stage of progress India's greatest king Akbar, equally confessed the supremacy of female rule in persons alien to his own faith, who not only declined to study the Kurán, but coerced the mighty monarch into the acceptance of portions of their own creed, as one of his own biographers remarks “The Emperor was subject to the influence of the numerous Hindu princesses of the

Harem who had gained so great an ascendancy over him as to make him forswear the beef garlic onions and the wearing of a beard, which things His Majesty still avoids —Badaoni, quoted by Blochmann *Ain i-Akbar*, p 193

both of whom had henceforth to bow to an alien Sultán of curiously mixed breed. In the Muhammadan distrust of unconverted Hindús, all manner of foreign adventurers were installed in divisional posts;¹ these men having little or no interest in the stability of the throne, were ever ready to aid any projected rising, or to join with their combined forces any of the more influential rebels. So that the annals of the period present a mere succession of outbreaks,—no sooner was one section of the empire brought back to its allegiance than another division would seek to assert its independence.

The Sultán was often obliged to command his own armies; and though he was usually victorious, the very fact of his absence in distant parts encouraged the disaffected elsewhere. The old proverb, "Dehli is distant,"² found a new application; the royal forces were often less near to the threatened point than the inconveniently situated capital itself, whose distance from the Southern States had already suggested its supercession by the more central Deogír. A parallel obstacle to the permanent subjection of the provinces was to be found in the state of the roads and the general insecurity of the country at large, evils that extended to such an extreme that the tribute of the south was allowed to accumulate at Deogír, merely because it was found impossible to transport it to Dehli, and eventually the whole trea-

¹ The majority of these mercenaries seem to have been Khorasánis, whom Muhammad bin Tughlak had collected to aid in his contemplated conquest of their own country. Ibn Batutah remarks incidentally that the people of Dehli called all Asiatic or African strangers indiscriminately "Khorasánis" (iii 229). Mughals were also engaged in large numbers, so that, on the Sultan's death, this section of his army, compact in its nationality, at once proceeded to harass and plunder the now ill-commanded force to which they were attached.—Elliot's *Historians*, edition 1849, p. 324; new edition, vol. iii. pp. 251, 266.

² دہلی دور است "It is a far cry to Lochow"—Rob Roy.

suro was divided on the spot among some temporarily successful insurgents.¹

The end of such a state of things might easily be predicted. The Bengal Mints occupied themselves in coining money for independent rulers, the Sultán's early triumph, Warangol, reverted to its ancient name in the hands of other masters, Deogír, his chosen capital, submitted to Hasan Gungo, the founder of a new race of kings, the Bahmaní dynasty of Kalbarga, who were destined to play a prominent part in the destinies of the country, and, finally, the owner of so many kingdoms died, miserably, of a fever, near Thatta, on the lower Indus, with his army "like ants or locusts" around him, and his cousin and successor found some difficulty in getting safe home to the cherished Dehli, Muhammad bin Tughlak had once done so much to desolate and destroy.

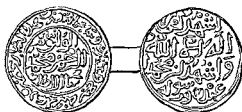
It is, however, in his rôle as a Prince of Monarchs that Muhammad bin Tughlak claims our peculiar attention. His mintages are instructive both in the novelty and variety of their types, admirable in the artistic perfection of their design and execution, and especially significant in their reflex of the individuality of the Monarch himself, marking, as they do, the various phases of his career—his early wealth and reckless profusion, its resulting poverty, which he attempted to meet by a forced currency, and equally his ready return to money payments on its ascertained failure. Next in order, they exemplify the doubts and difficulties concerning his own title to the throne, unconfirmed as it was by Pontifical authority, which he remedied by the curious pro-

¹ On another occasion (745 A H) the tribute of Gujarát with the horses for the royal stables and a large convoy of merchandize was plundered by the foreign Amirs at Baroda, the proceeds of which enabled them to organize a serious insurrection

cess of the omission of his own name and the substitution of that of an Egyptian scion of the house of Abbās, who, as chance would have it, was already in his grave. So important, indeed, did he consider all matters connected with the public currency that one of the earliest acts of his reign was to remodel the coinage, to readjust its divisions to the altered relative values of the precious metals, and to originate new and more exact representatives of the subordinate circulation. These innovations will be noticed in detail in connexion with the representative monetary specimens in as much of consecutive order as the materials admit.

Muhammad bin Tughlak.

No. 171. *Gold.* Weight, 198·5 grs ; highest weight of other available specimens, 199 grs. (See also Marsden, dccxiv)
DEHLI, AH. 725, 726, 727.



Circular area.

الواثق بتايد

الرحمن محمد

شاد السلطان

Margin—

ضرب هذا الدينار بحصرة دھلي

سنة سبع وعشرين وسبع مائة

اشهد ان لا

اله الا الله

واشهد ان محمدا

عبده ورسوله

"I testify that there is no god but God, and I testify that Muhammad is his servant and apostle."¹

¹ This is the ^{اذان} *adhan* or call to prayer, usually chanted from the turret of

No 172 *Gold* Weight, 167.3 grs *Unique* in gold Colonel
Guthrie DĀR UL ISLĀM, A H 727



Circular area

لا اله الا

الله محمد

رسول الله

Margin—

صرف هذه السكه بدار الاسلام

في سنة سبع وعشرين وسعمائة



ابوبكر

المحامد في
سبيل الله

محمد بن تعلق شاد

٧٢٧

The warrior in the cause of God,¹
Muhammad bin Tughlak Shāh
Abubakr, 'Umar, 'Usmān, 'Alī

the mosque أشهد أن لا اله الا الله (four times), أشهد أن (twice), أشهد أن لا اله الا الله (twice) — Lane Arabic Dict, s. id voce

Marsden usually so cautious in his criticisms, and who had gone through a very severe training in Kufic palæography in the various introductory series he was called upon to decipher proved altogether at fault when he came to encounter the free flow of superior Kurān MS calligraphy which Muhammad bin Tughlak had suddenly brought to such perfection in these mint dies — Num Orient p 534

¹ See Zā Barnī Persian text, p 196 Elliot's Historians iii p 143, Ibn Batutah iii 215

Firāz Shāh *Ahlī* had coveted this particular title and condescended to engage in a secondary intrigue in order to obtain it as a presumed voluntary offering on the part of the local heads of the creed, but on their too ready compliance with his wishes he discovered scruples as to the sufficiency of his own claims to any such distinction

No 173 . *Gold Weight*, 198 5 (198, 197 3, 197 3) A most perfect coin Colonel Guthrie DEHLI, A II 727, 728, 729 (See also another specimen engraved in pl III fig 83)



Obverse—صرب می رسد العبد الراحى رحمة الله محمد بن تغلق

Reverse—Circular area The Kalimah

Margin—هدا الديار حصرة دهلى فى ستة سعو عشرين و سعمائة

No 174 A specimen of this class of money, in the collection of Col Stacey, now in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (in weight 199 grs), struck at DEOGIR, in A II 727, has the following exceptional marginal legend —

هدا الديار فى سنة دين اسلام اعنى حصرة ديوگر ۷۲۷

See also M Soret's coin, No XIX of my Supplement, *Nam Chron* 1852, xv p 129

Deogir or Daulatabad was specially designated at this period by the prefix of قبة الاسلام Masalik al Abkar, Notices et Extr xiii p 210¹

¹ Au rapport du scheikh Moubarak le royaume de l'Inde a pour capitale la ville de Dehli. Ensuite vient la ville de Dewakir, qui fut fondée par le Sultan de cet empire, et nommée par lui قبة الاسلام la métropole de l'islamisme. Cette place ajoute le scheikh est située dans le troisième climat. Lorsque je l'ai quittée, il y a six ans, les constructions n'étaient point achevées et je doute qu'aujourd'hui elles se soient terminées. A raison de l'immense étendue de son enceinte, et du nombre prodigieux d'édifices qu'elle devait renfermer. Le prince l'avait divisée en quartiers, dont chacun était destiné à des hommes d'une même profession. On distinguait le quartier des troupes, celui des vizirs et des écrivains, celui des kadis et des savants, celui des scheikhs et des fakirs celui des marchands et de ceux qui exercent des états lucratifs. Chaque quartier devait renfermer tout ce qui

No 175 Gold Weight, 170 grs SULTÁNPUŖ (Warangol),¹
 A H 729 Very rare Col Guthrie



الوائق بتائد

الرحمن محمد

شاه السطان

• Margin—

صرب هداالديار بشر سلطانپور

سنة تسعة و عشرين وسعمائة



اشهد ان لاله

الااله واشد

ان محمدا عبده

ورسوله

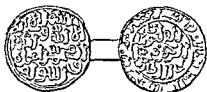
pouvait suffire à tous les besoins, les mosquées, les minarets, les marchés les bains, les moulins les fours, et les artisans de tout genre jusqu'aux forgerons aux teinturiers, aux corroyeurs, en sorte que les habitants n'eussent aucun besoin de recourir à d'autres pour leurs ventes leurs achats et les autres nécessités de la vie et que chacun de ces quartiers formât comme une ville séparée, entièrement indépendante de celles qui l'avoisinaient.—Not et Ext xiii p 172.

See also Ibn Batutah, iii 182, 191, iv 46-51 The revenue of the province is incidentally stated to have been farmed at 17 *krors* of *tourkahs*, p 49 Dr Lees's Translation p 163

"If the visitor passes his eye over the modern town of Rozah (which occupies merely a small part of the site of the vast old city), he will see in the distance the fortress of Daulatābād all the intervening plain for about six miles must have been covered with buildings of the old city. The ancient reservoir of the city, called *Gany Rawan Sdiah* or the *Parī Talao*, is situated about two miles S W of Rozah. The site of this old city, and perhaps its traditional history, must have pleased Muhammad bin Tughlak who twice attempted to force the population of Delhi to remove to it. The mint or *Tinkāl* of this king was close to the *Parī Talao*. In this mint were coined the mohurs and rupees that formed the fictitious currency specimens of which are frequently turned up by the plough of the modern cultivator.—Col Tremlow, Jour Bombay Branch, R A S 1853 p 376

¹ See p 188, ante Lat 17° 58, long 79° 40 —Grant Duff, i 47

No. 175a. Gold. Weight, 170 grs. Sultánpúr, A. H. 729. Col. Guthrie.



Legends identical with those on No. 175.

No. 176 (pl. in fig. 84, and Marsden, DCCXVI.). Gold Weight, 169 3 grs. DEHLI, A. H. 727, 733, 736.

Circular area.

في عهد

محمد بن

تغلق

Margin—بحسرة دهلي سنة—

سنة وثلثين وسعمائة

والله

الغني وانتم

الفقراء

“Deus est dives; vos autem indigi estis”¹

No 177. Gold. Weight. 99 0 grs Unique Mr. E C. Bayley²

محمد

بن

تلق شاه



محيى

س خاتم

النبيين

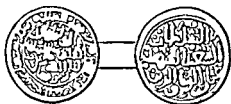
“Defender of the laws of the last of the Prophets”

¹ Kurán. Surah 35, 15—يا ايها الناس انتم الفقراء الى الله ذو العرش—“Oh men, ye have need of God, but God is self-sufficient, and to be praised.”—Sale. Fréhn. p 177. De Sacy, J. des Sav. 1827, p 277

² I regret to say that this valuable coin has been lost. It was made over to Mr Basire some years ago to be engraved, but it was abstracted from his drawers with many other choice specimens from Mr Bayley's collection. I myself outlined the above woodcut from the original coin, and published it at Dabli in 1861

Coin struck in memory of his Father

No 178 Gold Weight, 245 grs (A worn coin) Unique
Col Guthrie A II 73-



Circular area

ابو المظفر

تعلن شاه السلطان

انار الله برهان

Margin— صرب هذا السكه

سنة ثامن وسعمائة

السلطان

السعد الشهد

عاش الدنيا والدين

This is a most interesting coin, seemingly struck by Muhammad bin Tughlak, in one of his eccentric moods, in memory of his father. There is nothing definite in the legends to prove this assignment except the *decimal* in the date, which might be questioned in the imperfect marginal legend, but which is sufficiently clear on the original piece, though scarcely legible in the English engraving. The type of the coin, which was only introduced by the son, takes it out of the category of the mintages of the father, and the exaggerated weight equally points to an exceptional issue, a coincidence in which the piece accords with the posthumous medals of Muhammad bin Sâm (No 19 *supra*). But the crucial test of the date of the coin consists in the superiority of the calligraphy and the improvement in the die execution initiated by Muhammad bin Tughlak.¹

¹ No 178a I have a *Pura* a piece (in weight 51 grains) of fine silver which seems equally due to a later period than the reign of Tughlak Sháh. The legends themselves are similar to but not identical with, those of the gold coin, No 178.

No 179 Gold Weight, 169 grs Unique Gen T P Smith
A II 739

Obverse—صرب في زمن العبد الراجي رحمة الله محمد بن

Reverse—السلطان السعد الشهد تعلق شادسه تسع وثلاثين وسعمائة

SILVER COINS

No 180 (pl iii fig 87) Silver 'Adali Weight, 140 grs
DEHLI, A II 725, 726

الوائق شائد

الرحمن محمد

شاد السلطان

Margin—

صرب هذا العدلى محصرة دهل

سه خمس وعشرين وسعمائة

اشـدان لا

الله الاالله

واشـدان محمدا

سده ورسوله

No 181 Silver 'Adali Weight, 138 grs A II 727 Unique
Dehli Archaeological Society's collection Similar legends, but the
form of this specimen is changed in shape from the usual broad
pieces into a thick and narrow coin, like No 88, pl iii

but the superior metal the form of the piece and especially the fashioning of the
letters associate it with the issues of Muhammad bin Tughlak The legend
runs—

Obv — السلطان السد الشهد العارى عبات الدبا

ابوالمعتر تعلق شاد السلطان انا الله برحانه ٧٣٤

The date is nearly obliterated but the most important figure the ٣, seems to be
positive

No 182 (pl in fig. 88) Silver (largely alloyed) Weight, 140 grs¹
 A H 728, 729, 730

السلطان	صرب
السعد الشهيد	في زمن العبد
على شاه سـه	الراحي رحمة
ثمان وعشرين	الله محمد
وسعمائة	سـ

No 183 Silver and copper. Weight, 140 grs A H 732

Unique Mr E C Bayley

Coin similar in its form and the details of its legends to No 182

No 184 (pl in fig 90) Silver Weight, 168.5 grs B M
 A H 730

لا اله الا هـ	ابوبكر
الله محمد	المجاهد في
رسول الله	سيل الله
Margin— صرب هذه السكه .	محمد بن تعلق شاه
في سه ثلث وسعمائة	٧٣٠

No 185 Silver Weight, 168.0 grs Satgaon, A H 730
 Areas as above

. Margin— صرب هذه السكه يستكانو في سه ثلث وسعمائة

Coin struck by Bahádur Shah of Bengal in the name of Muhammad bin Tughlak (referred to at p 201 *supra*)

¹ Average weight of eight selected specimens 139.6 grains, highest weight observed 140 grains. The less carefully executed coins of 730 A.H. range as high as 140.3 grains but these pieces are more largely alloyed with copper, so that their weight need not have been so much cared for

186 Silver Weight, 140 grs Sonargaon, A.H. 728 *Unique*
Dehli Archaeological Society

Obverse { Area, ضرب نامر الواثق بالله محمد بن تغلق شاه
Margin, هذه السكه محصورة ساركانو سه ثمان و
عشرين وسعمايه

Reverse—السلطان المعظم تيمور الدلا و الدن ابو
المظفر بادشاه السلطان ابن السلطان

No 187 (pl vi fig 6) Silver Weight, 168.5 grs

Lakhnauti, A.H. 733 Areas as in No 184

ضرب هذه الفضة بغير لكوتى سه ثلاث و ثلث وسعمايه—

No 188 Silver Weight, 168 grs *Unique* (My cabinet)

Dar ul Islām, A.H. 784



في عهد

محمد بن

تغلق

والله

اعلم و اسم

العمراء

Margin—دار الاسلام سه اربع و ثمان وسعمايه—

SMALL COINS SILVER

No 189 (pl III fig 91) Silver Weight, 56 grs
A H 726, 727

Obverse—السلطان العادل

Reverse—محمد بن تعلق شاه ٧٢٦

No 190 Silver Weight, 52 grs A H 725

Obverse—المجاهد في سبيل الله

Reverse—محمد بن تعلق شاه ٧٢٥

No 191 Silver Weight, 52 grs A H 730 Col Stacey

Obverse—ابو الفتح ناصر الله

Reverse—محمد بن تعلق شاه ٧٢٣

No 192 Silver Weight, 51 grs A H 727, 732

Obverse—في رضى السلطان العادل محمد بن تعلق شاه

Reverse—دامت سلطته في سنة سبع وعشرين وسعمائة

No 193 (pl III fig 93) Silver Weight, 55 grs A H 732, 733,
731, 735, 736, 738, 739, in copper, 732, in brass, 733

Obverse—الملك والعظمة لله

“Dominion and greatness are of God”

Reverse—عبد الراحي محمد تعلق ٧٣٢

No 194 Silver Weight, 51.5 grs A H 727, 730, 733, 731,
735, 736, 737, 738

Obverse—الراحي رحمة الله الكريم

Reverse—محمد بن تعلق سنة ثلث وثلثمائة وسعمائة

MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLAK'S CURRENCIES.

This may be the fittest opportunity of adverting to the change effected in the national coinage of India between the epoch of the first establishment of the Muhammadan mints under Altamsh and the reforms introduced by Muhammad bin Tughlak. It is a curious but readily explicable fact that all attempts to discover, from the writings of indigenous authors, the authoritative scheme or the relative values of the local coinage have hitherto proved futile. The contemporary writers necessarily spoke of things around them as matters of course, regarding which no details or explanations were required; they mentioned from time to time the various coins of the realm, but only in general terms with reference to prices, payments or gifts, without defining the current interchangeable rates of the several coins thus adverted to.* The later Indian historians seem themselves to have had a difficulty in fixing and determining the system of money values obtaining in earlier times, and it was left for chance travellers, like Ibn Batutah, to supply many important specifications of the current rates of exchange, which could not be gathered from home sources; but a still more communicative visitor to the Court of Dehli at the same period has left upon record a full and complete epitome of the various descriptions of money employed in Hindustán.

The narrative of Shaikh Mubárak bin Mahmúd *Anbati*, the traveller in question, has been incorporated in an Egyptian work entitled (مسالك الأبصار) *Masálik al Abṣār*,¹ a unique MS. of which is to be found in the Imperial Library at Paris. The contents of this MS. have been examined and copiously

¹ The compiler of this work also quotes, among his other authorities, Siráj-ud-din Abul'fath Omar of *Oudh*.

abstracted by M. Quatremère in vol. xiii. of the *Notices et Extraits* (p. 51, *et seq.*). It is from this excellent article that I derive the information which I have thrown into the subjoined tabular form. The statements now contributed are not only very complete in themselves, but are so consistent with the numismatic data, that I accept them unhesitatingly as setting at rest many necessarily crude speculations wherewith I formerly attempted to arrive at a solution of the problem,—conjectures based primarily upon the weights and intrinsic contents of the coins themselves, aided by the very imperfect light our native authors had chanced to throw upon the inquiry.¹ There is one point that it is necessary to bear in mind in regard to the statements of Shaikh Mubárak, which is, that they refer to the latter portion of the reign of Muhammad Tughlak, and illustrate a somewhat complicated and transitional stage of the currency, more especially in the matter of the double silver standard created by the Sultán's introduction of the new *'adali* of 140 grains, which he himself seems to have again superseded by the approximate weight of the old *tankah*, in his silver money of 734 A.H.

¹ My first impression, in 1847, led me to say that the *ḷani* was probably the *jital* of Ferishtah (Pathán Sultáns, 1st edit., p. 61), and so it has proved, though the statements of the earlier native authorities had cast a doubt upon Ferishtah's accuracy, which his own confession of ignorance as to the nature of the *jital* itself was not calculated to remove. The original passage is quoted from Briggs's Translation at p. 158, *supra*: "As the spoken languages of the Peninsula enabled us to restore the true meaning to the misinterpreted Sanskrit *ḷarsḷa*, so the Dravidian tongues readily explain the term *ḷani*, which finds no place in Aryan vocabularies, but which was incorporated into the vernaculars of Hindustán during the southward migrations of the Scythic tribes. In Telugu, *ḷani* means $\frac{1}{64}$, or one quarter of a sixteenth (Brown). In Canarese, $\frac{1}{64}$ (Reeve), and in Tamil $\frac{1}{60}$ (Winslow). Wilson's Glossary gives *ḷani*, corruptly, *cawney*. Tel. Tam. Karn. $\frac{1}{60}$, or sometimes $\frac{1}{64}$." Mr W. H. Bayley, late Madras C.S., tells me that in modern books, and in the everyday practical measurement of land or other linear calculations, the *ḷani* is invariably estimated at $\frac{1}{64}$. The *do-gḍni* or *doodce* is still quoted in the Madras almanacks.

(Coin, No. 188; weight, 168 grs.). Though no very definite conclusion, as to the effect upon the general circulation, can be drawn from the appearance of this silver piece, which may have been the result of a momentary whim, and there is, it must be confessed, a marked absence of any other representative silver coins, whether *tankahs* or *'adalís*, during the concluding eighteen years of Muhammad Tughlak's reign, though gold of the old standard of 175 grains was freely issued.

THE STATE COINAGE AND ITS INTERCHANGEABLE RATES UNDER
MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLAK.¹

1 Káni=1 Jítal.

2 „ =Do-káni or *Sultáni*.

6 „ =Shash-káni, $\frac{2}{3}$ of Hasht-káni.

8 „ =Hasht-káni.

12 „ =Duwázdah-káni.

16 „ =Shánzdah-káni.

64 „ =1 Tankah.

64 Kánis=1 Tankah of 175 grs. pure silver.

32 Do-kánis=1 Tankah of 175 grs. pure silver.

8 Hasht-kánis=1 Tankah of 175 grs. pure silver.

4 Shánzdah-kánis=1 Tankah of 175 grs. pure silver

The Káni exchanged against 4 copper <i>Fals</i>	} So that, the full change, in copper pieces, for the Tankah, amounted to 256
„ Do-káni „ „ 8 „	
„ Hasht-káni „ 32 „	

¹ The coinage as amplified and extended under Firúz Sháh. (The text of *Shams-i-Siráj*, which furnishes these details, will be found under Firúz's coins.)

64 Kánis=old Tankah of 175 grs. 50 Kánis=new 'Adalí of 140 grs.

The irregular sub-divisions of the concurrent Tankah of 64 and 'Adalí of 50 Kánis are as follows —1 Káni, 2, 6, 8, 10, 12, 24, 25, and 48. The 16 Káni piece is not quoted in the later list. The 10, 24, and 48 Káni pieces seem to have been additional sub-divisions introduced by Firúz Sháh. The 25 Káni piece was probably only the old *Nisfi* or half 'Adalí of Muhammad bin Tughlak. Firúz Sháh also claims to have produced for the sake of the poor $\frac{1}{2}$ Kánis and $\frac{1}{4}$ Kánis; in mixed copper and silver, I presume, as the 4 *Fals* already supplied any broken change below the single Káni or Jítal.

The most striking item disclosed by the details of the above table is the essentially indigenous character of the divisional contents of the *tankah* and its analogous fractional sub-divisions, both of which follow the ancient Indian quaternary scale of numeration in all its integrity. *Fires* and *tens* are here positively unknown quantities, and decimals of no account.

Altamsh was supposed to have recognized, in a general sense, the existing local standard, but it would seem that he must have adopted the prevailing monetary institutions weights, measures etc., *en bloc*, and that these remained undisturbed till Alá ud din in the first instance, and Muhammad bin Tughlak in the second, gained new and enlarged views associated possibly with other Indian traditions, during their expeditions to the Dakhan. The retention by Altamsh, so unreservedly, of local systems of reckoning in the minor sums up to the measure of the *tankah* would seem necessarily to imply that the latter weight itself formed a definite unit both theoretically and practically, in the pre-existing monetary computations. This is a concession which could not previously have been claimed, as Altamsh might have been supposed to have retained a leaning to Ghaznavi standards and the new *tankah* might well have stood for a double *dirham*. The turning point, however, in this identification depends mainly upon the authentic weight of the true Indian unit the *rati*, as recognized at the period in the exact locality of the Metropolitan Mint, and it is not impossible that the coins themselves may aid in fixing this still indeterminate quantity. The query then presents itself as to how many *ratis* of gold or silver this *tankah* was estimated to contain. The first answer within reasonable limits suggested by the progression of *four* in the table just given, would be

96; but it is a very singular fact that the old Tables of Weights in *Manu* do introduce a decimal element after 32 *ratis* in the silver weights, and after 320 *ratis* in the gold weighments, the latter having already felt something of the decimal action in the initial use of the 5 *ratis* to 1 *masha*; and, finally, we have an absolute silver *satamāna* or 100 *mana* weight.¹ A very important bit of collateral evidence is con-

¹ a ANCIENT INDIAN WEIGHTS (from *Manu*, c viii § 134)

Silver.

2 *Ratis* = 1 *Māsha*

32 " = 16 " = 1 *Dharana* or *Parāna*

320 " = 160 " = 10 " = 1 *Ṣatamāna*

Gold

5 *Ratis* = 1 *Māsha*

80 " = 16 " = 1 *Suvarna*

320 " = 64 " = 4 " = 1 *Pala* or *Nishka*

3200 " = 640 " = 40 " = 10 " = 1 *Dharana*.

Copper

80 *ratis* = 1 *kārshāpana*.

b The subjoined table of weights is valuable for the purposes of comparison, as possibly owing its origin to an independent section of Indian progress. It has been preserved in the *Atharva Pariśiṣṭa*, a work supposed to date some centuries B.C., where it is expressly stated to be designed for the weighment of *ghṛi*, or the clarified butter employed in the sacrificial rites of the Brahmins.

Among other curious items, the text records the fact that the assumed unit in the descending scale was the *drona*, a measure for which a divine origin is claimed, as having been "given of old by Brahma himself."

5 *Ratis* = 1 *Māsha*

320 " = 64 " = 1 *Pala*

10,240 " = 2,048 " = 32 " = 1 *Prastham*.

40,960 " = 8,192 " = 128 " = 4 " = 1 *Atkama*.

163,840 " = 32,768 " = 512 " = 16 " = 4 " = 1 *Drona*

—Über den Veda kalender, Namens Jyotisham, von A. Weber, Berlin (1862), p. 82

This table is highly interesting, not only on account of its antiquity, which probably approaches that of the parallel tables from *Manu*, but for the indications of a combination of two independent systems of calculation which it discloses. I gather from the text quoted by Professor Weber from the *Atharva Pariśiṣṭa*

tributed by the subsequently-devised 'adals, whose weights are much more closely defined both in the beautiful silver coins of Muhammad bin Tughlak, and in the better speci-

(Jyotisha, Abhandlungen der Kgl Ak der Wis, Berlin, 1862, p 82), and other illustrative items he has collected from the early Sanskrit authorities (Zeitschrift (1861), p 129), that the *drona* "measured by Brahma," and the *pala*, stated to be $\frac{1}{16}$ th of the former, in the same passage, were weights affected by the Vedic Aryans, the *pala* alone is mentioned in the Nirukta, and the *mdshaka* is not found in any texts "supposed to be" authentically Vedic, while in the slokas which furnish the details of the present table, the *pastha* is directly and the *dsaka* (*ddhaka*) indirectly pronounced to be a Magadha weight. It will be seen that the table is identical in its details, in the ascending scale, with the series of gold weights from Manu, up to the *pala* or *nishka*, when the Indian *fours* reassert themselves in the progressive advances, in lieu of the *ten palas*, which constitute the next increase in the earlier scales for the measure of gold.

I have collected the subjoined tables from various sources, with a view to illustrate more completely the general subject of Indian weights

c TABLE OF INDIAN WEIGHTS (from Bâbar's Memoirs, p 332)

8 Ratis =	1 Masha.
32 " = 4 "	" = 1 Tang
40 " = 5 "	" = 1 Mishâl
96 " = 12 "	" = 1 Tolah
1344 " = 168 "	" = 14 " = 1 Sir
53760 " = 6720 "	" = 560 " = 40 " = 1 Man.

"And it is fixed that everywhere 40 Sirs make one Man. They reckon jewels and precious stones by the Tang" See also note, p 16, Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann's translation, Calcutta, 1868, and text, pp 31, 36

d. Kashmir weights; from the Ain i Akbari, ii. p 156, Gladwin's edition —

1 Tolah = 16 *mdshas* of six *ratis* each, or 96 *ratis*.

1 Gold mohur = 16 *dsms* of six *ratis* each, or $\frac{1}{4}$ *ratis* more than the Dehli gold mohur.

Rabsanu is a small coin of 9 *mdshas* or 54 *ratis*

Punches is a copper coin in value $\frac{1}{4}$ *dsms*, also called *kussereh*

Bdrahgans is $\frac{1}{2}$ the *punches* or $\frac{1}{8}$ *dsms*

Shukri is $\frac{1}{4}$ *bdrahgani*

4 *Punches* or *kusserehs* = 1 *hut*

40 " " = 1 *dsmsu*, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ *dsmsu* = 1 *sikka*

100 *dsmsu* = 1 *dk* = 1000 royal *dsms*

Every coin and even manufactures are estimated in Kharwars of rice . . .

mens of the brass tokens which were designed to replace these 50 *lāni* pieces in the general circulation.

These coins, as a rule, touch very closely upon the exact 140 grains, and it is scarcely possible to doubt that this weight represents the 80 *ratī* gold *suvarna* equally with the copper *karsha* of Manu's Tables, the copper *let*, the authoritative unit of the ancient Egyptians¹ If the former association is conceded, my estimate of the *ratī* at 1.75 grains falls in with singular evenness; for the '*adali*, $80 \times 1.75 = 140$, for the silver *tankah* or *ṣataraktīla*, $100 \times 1.75 = 175$.² I do

They have a weight of 2 *dāms*, called *pul*, and they also make use of the half and quarter of this weight, $7\frac{1}{2}$ of these *puls* make 1 *sir*, 4 *sirs* a *man*, 4 *mans* 1 *turel*

¹ page 196, "Coins of Kabul. 16 dinars = 1 tuman, which = 800 *dāms*."

c. TABLE OF INDIAN AND OTHER FOREIGN WEIGHTS, from the *Haft Kulzum*

1 جَو jao (यव) barley-corn	= 1 حَبَّة ḥabbat, 'a grain, a seed.'
1 تَسُو tasū	= 2 حَبَّة ,,
4 جَو barley-corns	= 1 كِيرَاط kīrat (κεράτιον) Carob.
8 حَبَّة ,,	= 1 دَانِي (دانی) dāni ($\frac{1}{16}$ th).
48 جَو ,,	= 1 دِرْهَم (درم) dirham.
68 حَبَّة ,,	= 1 مِشْقَال (مشقال) miskāl.
306 حَبَّة or 4½ مِشْقَال	= 1 أَسْتَار astār, سِير sir (सेटक).
510 حَبَّة or 7½ مِشْقَال	= 1 أَوْكِيَّة aukiat (ounce).
6120 حَبَّة or 12 aukiat	= 1 رَطْل raṭl (pound).
12240 حَبَّة or 24 aukiat	= 1 مَن mann.

See also variants in *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann's Calcutta edition, p. 36.

¹ R. S. Poole, "Weights and Measures."—Smith's Dict. Bible.

² See *ante*, pp. 3, 167. Sir W. Jones rated the *ratī* at $1\frac{5}{16}$ of a grain. Gen. Cunningham's estimate of the weight of the *ratī* is 1.8229 grains, Mr. Maskelyne's 1.80—Initial Coinage of Bengal, p. 9

Sir W. Elliot, in answer to my inquiries as to the assimilation of the Southern

not wish to claim this coincidence for more than it is worth, as it is but one link in a long chain, and the primitive weights of India had no doubt already been largely modified in different localities, and were somewhat advanced in their progress towards the extraordinary multiplicity of provincial standards, that so offend against the English idea of uniformity at the present day. Concurrently with the development of the *'adali*, in which a reduction of $\frac{1}{3}$ th, or 20 per cent, upon the old *tankah* of 175 grains, was effected, there appears a new gold piece, which is raised in weight above the old gold *tankah* of 175 grains by $\frac{1}{3}$ th, or about 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., forming a coin of 200 grains, specially designated on its surface as a *dindr*.¹ This particular type of coin was destined to have but a brief career, as the dates 725, 726 A H., and a single speci-

systems with the data afforded by the Dehli coins, has favoured me with the subjoined note on the subject — "I have never met with a coin answering to the *tankah* of 140 or 175 grains. The largest pieces I know range between 55 and 60 grains, generally about 58 grains (but I have one of 66.9 grains). They go by the name of *tankahs*, as "*padma-tankah*," "*varāha-tankah*," etc. Some of them are figured in my Gleanings (figs 28 and 33 of No. 1, and figs 1 and 2 of No. 2). This bears no apparent relation to your *tankah*. The Dravidian *pon* I take to have weighed 29 or 30 grains, and these Southern *tankahs* I suppose to be double *pons*. This is borne out by the old arithmetical tables, in which accounts are still kept

2 *gunjas* = 1 *dugala* (= $\frac{1}{2}$ *fanam*)

2 *dugalas* = 1 *chavala* (= the *panam* or *fanam*).

2 *chavalas* = 1 *d hārana*

2 *d hāranas* = 1 *hoṇa* (= the *pratāpa*, *mada* or $\frac{1}{2}$ *pagoda*).

2 *hoṇas* = 1 *varāha* (= the *hūn* or *pagoda*)

The *gunja* or unit (= $\frac{1}{2}$ *fanam*) is the *rati* or Sanskrit *raktika*, the seed of the *abrus*. I have weighed numbers of these, and found them to vary from 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 grains, or even more, a fair average would be 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ grains. Jervis (weights of the Konkan) and Prinsep, deducing the relative weights from the *mash*, make it 1.93 grains. But taking my average of 1.75 grains, we get your *tankah* or *sat-raktika* = 100 *ratis*, exactly 175 grains."

¹ Some of these coins are in very perfect condition, so to say, new from the dies, so that the weight may apparently be relied on. The half *dindr*, No. 177, at 99 grains, is a minor test of the true issue weight.

men of 727 A.H., are all the examples that can be cited from the ten or twelve specimens accessible in modern cabinets; but the same weight is preserved in the varied type of coin Nos. 173, 174. The change in the form of these pieces seems to have been made upon artistic and mechanical grounds, and not to have had any reference to weights or values.¹ Some of these latter specimens are met with, ranging as high as 199 grains, coined in the course of 727 A.H., but rapidly deteriorating in weight, till examples of the same year's issue fall to 188, 168, and even to the ignominious 137 grains, which, however, may, each and all, have suffered from the sweeter's abstractions.

One coincidence in the scale of the minor subdivisions of the silver standard must not be passed over in silence, as it evidences a singular concession to ancient custom, in the weights assigned to Muhammad bin Tughlak's small silver pieces, Nos 189, 190, 193, 194. The annual dates on these varieties, taken in broken order, cover a period of fourteen years, less the temporary break due to the forced currency.²

¹ "I had previously noted the motives for this change, which extended to the silver pieces of the same epoch. The years 727-728 A.H. present us with fresh modifications both in the types and legends of the recently revised coinage of Delhi. The examples, gold 173, silver 180, 189, exhibit the same elegance of design and accuracy of execution that mark the earlier efforts of Muhammad bin Tughlak's mint artists. The form of coin now adopted was probably held, in many respects, to be an improvement upon the broad pieces antecedently put forth, as under the Oriental method of preparing the *planchets* (blanks), the equable division of each could be effected with far greater facility when cut from a narrow bar than when divided into the thin plates necessitated by the ingot of the larger diameter, calculated for the broad coins. In addition to this advantage, the smaller size of the dies, and the diminished depth of the engraving of the fine lines of the legends, demanded less labour, in the process of striking, to produce a perfect medal, than was required to complete the impression of the broader and coarser coin of earlier days."—Pathán Sultans, Suppl't, Num Chron, p 17.

² A.H. 725, 726, 727, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739.

There can be little question, whatever may be held to be the true weight of the *rati*, that we have in these pieces the medieval representatives of Manu's 32 *rati* silver *purāṇa*, or the successors of the earliest description of money prior to the introduction of the art of coining, the punched dominoes of silver, which aided the first step beyond barter, among the pre-Aryan Indians.¹ Fifty-six or fifty-seven grains will not divide evenly either into 175 or 140, but *ten* such pieces of 56 grains, being 1·75 grain to the *rati*, exactly answer to the old silver *ṣaṭamana* of 320 *ratis* (560 grains), of which mention has already been made; and, curious to say, the silver piece itself, allowing for a fractional depreciation in the metal, represents the value of 80 copper *śals*, as they are stated to have exchanged with the other subdivisions of the *tankah*. The 20 *lāṇi* piece,² thus retained in the general scheme of the Quaternary distribution of the silver coinage, and for which a counterpart was provided in the forced currency, may once have belonged to an independently devised system; but both the 32 and the 80 *ratis*, the advance of 16 upon 24, identify it closely with ancient calculations, and especially with the progression to the 80 *ratis*, in the Gold and Copper Tables of Manu, which formed alike the gold *śurarna* and the copper *karshapana*.

Having completed the review of comparative weights, it remains to test and ascertain values. The new *'adahs* or 50 *lāṇi* pieces are, to all appearance, composed of less pure silver than the old *tankahs* of 64 *lāṇis*. This depreciation may have been intentional or otherwise,³ but it looks as if it

¹ Earliest Indian Coinage, Numismatic Chronicle, vol. iv., N.S. (1864), p. 265, Journal As. Soc. Bengal, vol. xxxiv (1865), p. 68.

² As 175 64 56 . 20 48

³ Some of Alā-ud-dīn's silver pieces seem to fall off from the old standard of

had been designed to meet some alteration in the other exchanges. Coincident with the production of *'adalīs*, mention is made for the first time of *shashkānis*, or pieces of six, which Shaikh Mubārak intimates were useful in exchanges, and perhaps designed for the purpose of settling uneven payments, being, as he remarks, $\frac{2}{3}$ of the established *hasht-kāni*, eight, of which, as their name implies, went to the 64 *kāni tankah*¹ These *shashkānis* would not run in even sums, either into 64 or 50, though they made a second division of 8 into 48, a total seemingly of some prominence in the bázárs, as Fīrūz Shāh subsequently provided a distinct denominational coin for that amount. The *hashtkānis* appear previously to have formed a very important element of the general currency;² they were composed, like so many of the

white silver, his Dakhan gold, on the other hand, is unpleasantly white See coin No 131, *ante*.

¹ Le lakh vaut cent mille tankah تکه et le tankah huit dirhams —Not et Ext. xiii. 182

² I have to correct my reading of the passage from Ibn Batutah, quoted at page 17 of my *Initial Coinage of Bengal* I now see that the conventional rate of exchange of gold and silver in the later period of Muhammad bin Tughlak's reign was 1 10 Ibn Batutah in other places (ii. 76, iii. 106, 187) distinctly sets this question at rest, even if Shaikh Mubārak did not inferentially confirm the fact (Not. et Extr. xiii. 211, 212). The concluding portion of the passage from Ibn Batutah is as follows —

الديار النص هو ثمانية دراهم و درهميم كالدرهم المقر سوا

"Celui-ci [le dinār d'argent] vaut huit drachmes, et leur drachme équivaut absolument à la drachme d'argent" (vol. iv. p. 210) I was misled by the use of the word *dinar*, which is so specially reserved for the gold pieces in the Delhi coinages, into supposing that the passage had reference in some obscure way to the rate of gold to silver, but further examination proves that Ibn Batutah had an odd way of applying the term *dindr* as دينار دراهم, etc (iii. 254, 387, 422)

(See also Col Yule's summary of Ibn Batutah's notices of money in his excellent work on "Cathay and the Way thither," p. ccxlviii.) All Ibn Batutah appears to mean is that the *dindr* of silver (i.e. *tankah*?) is equal to 8 *dirhams* (*hashtkāni*), and their *dirham* is identical in form with the silver piece But considerable doubt must still

indigenous coins of historic sequence, of a mixture of silver and copper in the proportions requisite to represent the value of $\frac{1}{8}$ th of a *tankah*, and are specifically described by the western travellers as identical in weight and partially in appearance with the silver coin itself. They may be identified with some of the examples of No 182, the intrinsic contents alone determining the value in each case, so that the pure silver coins stamped with the same dies¹ are, doubtless, revised forms of *'adali*, equally as their more extensively alloyed associates may be found to answer to the value of a *shashkani*. This modification in the form of the *'adali* took place simultaneously with the alteration in the

exist as to the true meaning of the passage, inasmuch as an almost counterpart statement in the *Masâlik al Abşâr* adds the *silver dirham* "of Egypt" "Le dirhem *hashtkani* a le même poids que le dirhem d'argent *الدرهم المقررة* que a cours en Egypte et en Syrie La valeur de l'une et l'autre pièce est la même." M Quatremère adds, "Le texte porte حواره حواره Je lis حواره حواره."—Not. et Extr vol. xiii. p 211. I may remark that Shaikh Mubârak, if M Quatremère has rightly apprehended the passage quoted below, also designates the full *dirham* or *'adali* as a current *dindr*. This irregular use of the word is in so far justified by local usage that we find Zîâ Barni saying—*وجدين طلق* (Calcutta text, p 143)

A difficulty has been felt in regard to the apparent inconsistency of Shaikh Mubârak having estimated the *dindr* or silver dirham at 6 *dirhams*, I conclude *hashtkâpis*. M Quatremère's translation is as follows "800 *Toumâns* dont chacun vaut 10,000 *dinârs* courants et le *dinâr* 6 *dirhems* en sorte que cet'e somme se montait à 8 millions de *dinârs* courants ou 48 millions de *dirhems*" (Not. et Extr. xiii. 191) I suppose that the current *dinâr* here meant was the *'adali*, or its then representative, which, excluding fractions, would run, in a rough calculation, about *six* *hashtkâpis*, or 48 instead of the 50 *kânis* required in the 140 grain silver piece. So also some confusion in the statement of nominal equivalents may have arisen from the 8 *shashkâpis*, that would have equally amounted to 48.

¹ The proper *'adalis*, No 180, which are broad pieces, date in 725, 726, 727 A H Nos 181, 182, which are thick coins, take up the succession, and contribute the actual receipts of 727, 728, 729, 730 A H

gold pieces, already averted to, and seemingly for similar objects, i.e. of securing less irregularity in the separation of the exact weight of silver required for each coin, from the bar or rod, into which the metal was fashioned, and facility of stamping, in the reduced size and relief of the letters of the legends.¹ I may repeat, that the entire scheme of the sub-divisional currency intervening between the pure silver piece and the copper coin, proceeded upon the plan of mixing silver and copper in the definite proportions required for the several intrinsic values. These alloys were formed into coins identical in weight, shape, and device, so that buyers and sellers had in each case to determine by the eye and the hand the value of the piece tendered in payment. A state of things inconceivable to European ideas, but practically involving but little difficulty among the natives of India,² even if the ever-ready money changer were not within call.

These numismatic details, aided by the information contributed by the African travellers, enable us to set at rest the real import of the passage in the *Tabâkat-i-Akbari*, which *Ferishtah* so strangely perverted,³ and which led General

¹ Abu'l Fazl tells us that the metal was "cast into round ingots," in Hindûstân the workman, without "such machine" as they require in Persia, cuts the sections "with such exactness that there is not the difference of a single hair"—*Khin-i-Akbari*.

² "Practical men can discover from the colour of the compound which of the alloys (lead, tin, or copper) is prevailing"—*Khin-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, i 22 Gladwin, i. 16

³ In referring to the early profusion of Muhammad bin Tughlak, and the enormous sums he is reported to have squandered in gifts and pensions, *Ferishtah* incidentally alludes to the intrinsic value of the money of this monarch, affirming that, "Nizâm ud-din Ahmad Rikshu, surprised at the vast sums stated by historians to have been lavished by this prince, took the trouble to ascertain, from authentic records, that these *tankahs* were of the silver currency of the day, in which was amalgamated a great deal of alloy, so that each *tankah* only exchanged

Briggs to assert that the silver *tankah* of Muhammad bin Tughlak was "worth only about 4d instead of 2s" The true reading of the original is to the effect that the *tankah* of this period was slightly alloyed with copper, so that it was only worth eight *black tankahs*. Eight *shashkanis* would, in effect, be equal to 48 *lanis* of real silver, or, admitting the alloy, to an 'adali of 140 grains. This rectification is of very considerable importance, as it determines within certain limits the value of the *black tankah* at about 16 4 grains of silver, or 2½ pence, a definition which will prove highly useful in estimating the worth of the subsequent issues of the Sultans of Dehli. Under the new aspect of the inquiry now presented, I must not fail to amend my own suggestion at page 117, as to the possible identification of *black tankahs* with any of the moderately alloyed silver pieces of the generic name minted in Bengal or Hindústán.

The *shashkanis*, if it exists in the composite form of mixed metal, seems to have been but little affected by the people at large, and probably remained for a long time more of a theoretical than a practical benefit. As far as can be seen, no

for 16 copper *pieces* (making a *tankah* worth only about 4d instead of 2s) — Briggs's *Ferishtah*, i p 410

The Persian text of the original passage is as follows —

چنانچه نظام الدین احمد محشی تحقیق کرده مراد ارس تکه نقره
است که پاره مس هم داشت و یکی اراں تکبارا شاردن پول مس
میدادند

Bombay text i p 236 Briggs, i 410

واصی باشد که مراد ارس تکه تکه نقره است که پاره ار مس هم
داشت و بهشت تکه ساه برابر است

Tabakat i Akbari MS E.I Library No 997, p 75

Nizam ud-din Ahmad, a portion of whose text is reproduced verbatim in the copy instead of saying anything about copper *passa*, simply states that the current *tankah* was equal to eight *black tankahs*.

provision was made for its substitute in the forced currency of 730 A.H.,¹ though the *hashtkânis* are common enough. It will be seen hereafter that Firúz Shâh claims to have invented the *shashkâni*, which would also imply that the number coined in the previous reign must have been to a certain extent limited. One novelty for which Muhammad bin Tughlak claims credit was the *dokâni*, or piece of two *kanis*,² which Shaikh Mubârak mentions was entitled after its royal deviser, *Sultân*. This must have been a highly useful coin, "four going to the *hashtkâni*, three to the *shashkâni*;" and, finally, our translators concludes, "Une pièce qui est la moitié du dirhem Sultani se nomme يکانی pièce d'un et vaut un حبل." The counterpart of which legend is to be found on Gen. Cunningham's coin, No. 207.

A point of considerable importance in the history of the monetary transactions of this period is the relative values of gold and silver. The standard, if any distinct conception of its meaning, as we understand it, existed at all, seems to have been based upon the primitive copper currency, which was of such universal distribution as to be confessedly less liable to fluctuation than gold or silver. Certainly, in Akbar's time, when theory was more distinctly applied to the subject, copper was established as the authoritative basis of all money computations.³ Silver in its turn, next to copper, was necessarily most fixed and determinate in value,

¹ At one time I imagined I had discovered a token *shashkâni*, as the six dots of the شش seemed to be unquestionable, but as the second set of . . . may be intended for the marks of the final ني in *kâni* I do not think it safe to quote a single specimen. The initial *h* takes the form of *h* .

² The Arabic word quoted, in all its imperfection, by M. Quatremère is الدكاسة. There can be little question as to the correct restoration.

³ Kin-i-Akbari, i 3, 4, 37, etc., Num. Chron iv 118, Ovid Fast i 220, Lucretius, v 1275, Madden, Jewish Coinage, 278

whereas gold, from its comparative rarity, and the anxiety with which it was sought for at all times in India, whether for the purposes of hoarding¹ or the construction of ornaments, rendered it peculiarly liable to be affected by the laws of supply and demand. I am still sanguine enough to believe that the newly-devised gold and silver money, with which Muhammad bin Tughlak inaugurated his reign, will enable us to determine from the relative scale of proportions the actual rate prevailing at this period. It is true that the margin is wide, and the figures involved contribute more than one sum consistent in the several relations, but the predominance of evidence points clearly to 8:1 and 7:1. I do not in any way contest the fact that there is evidence to show that ten silver pieces exchanged against one of gold later in this reign, but this concession by no means implies that the ratio of the two metals was as 10:1. As has been said before, there is considerable obscurity in the narrations of the western travellers in regard to the definition of *dirhams* and *dinars*. About the old *tankahs* no possible question can arise, whether of gold or silver; they followed the same identical weight of 175 grains². We have seen that

¹ The author of the *Mas'lik al Ab'sâr* has preserved a curious contemporary notice of this custom of the natives of India in Muhammad bin Tughlak's time. "Les habitants d'Inde ont la réputation d'aimer à amasser des richesses et à thésauriser. Lorsque l'on demande à l'un d'entre eux combien il possède de bien, il répond: Je ne sais pas, mais je suis le second ou le troisième de ma famille, qui travaille à accroître le trésor que mon aïeul a déposé dans telle caverne, dans tel puits, et j'ignore à combien il se monte. Les Indiens ont l'usage de creuser des puits pour y renfermer leurs trésors. Quelques-uns pratiquent dans leurs maisons une excavation en forme de citerne, qu'ils ferment ensuite avec soin, n'y laissant que l'ouverture nécessaire pour y introduire des pièces d'or. C'est là qu'ils accumulent leurs richesses. Ils ne reçoivent point l'or travaillé, brisé ou en lingots, dans la crainte de la fraude, ils ne prennent ce métal que monnayé" (xiii. p. 218).

² The *Tabâkât-i-Nâsirî* speaks of—تکه ررو بقره (p. 162), تکه های رر سرح.

the Sultán borrowed these foreign terms and introduced them for the first time into the mint phraseology of Dehli, the one as applied to the 200 grain gold piece (No 171), the other as engraved on the tokens of the forced currency, which I suppose to have represented the early *'adali* of 110 grains of silver (No 202)

The leading motive in these exceptional issues, and the subordinate readjustments consequent thereupon, seems to have been the utilization of the stores of gold which filled the Sultán's treasures, and without proposing to introduce a definite gold standard, which, under the surrounding circumstances, would doubtless have proved impracticable, he appears to have aimed at a large expansion of the currency of the land by direct means, associated with an equitable revision of the basis of exchange between gold and silver, which had been disturbed by the large accessions of the former from the Dakhan, unaccompanied by any proportionate addition to the supply of the latter

The early Pathán kings, judging by their numismatic remains, put forth gold in very limited quantities, and merely

(p 184), *تکه نقره* (316), and carefully discriminates the contrast of the term *دیار* (p 167), also *حرار دیار زر رکی* (pp 372 391, Calcutta text)

The *Khazáin ul Futúh* of Mir Khusrú makes play upon the various forms—
تکه زر و سم و تکهائی سرح و سپید چوں کل صوری و صد برکت تو بر تو
عادہ برارن حمامائی کوناگون etc

Zaf Barmí also varies his phraseology—*تکه زر و تکه نقره دادی و لطف*—
تکه و چیل, (p 118 also pp 130 492), *چیل ار ریاں او سروں سامدی*
(pp 137, 247), *دنگ* (p 312), *دنگ و درم* (p 469)

As late as the time of Kaikobád foreign *dinārs* seem to have been retained in the coined state—*وچدیں طق دیار زر و نقره و حوصکهای پر تکه زر و*
(Calcutta edition, p 143) *نقره بر سر پدر و پسر بناو کردند*

as an adjunct in complement to the more abundant *silver tankahs*. Alá-ud-dín's plunder of the Dakhan, with its immemorial wealth of gold, is associated with a correspondingly ample increase of *gold tankahs* for home use. This influx of the higher metal, aided by the later contributions of Káfúr¹ and Khusrú from the same sources, indicated in the mintages of succeeding reigns, may well have disturbed the ancient relations of the two metals. I had estimated the relative values as about 8 1, without pressing the assumption that this rate represented the normal and imputable condition of things, but as a once existing and possibly recurring ratio.² Col H. Yule, who has investigated these questions from an independent point of view, by the aid of the written testimony of Marco Polo and other western travellers in the East,³ has suggested a probable fall in the value of gold, at

¹ Ferishtah, in mentioning Káfúr's plunder, brought to Dehli in 711 A.H., amounting to 96 000 *mans* of gold, which was "melted down, coined, and lodged in the treasury," adds, silver was not used as a coin in the south.—Briggs, i. 374. The *Masálik al Abjár* also notices "un des prédécesseurs de ce Sultán ayant fait de grandes conquêtes, enleva des pays vaincus une telle quantité d'or qu'il en chargea 13 000 bœufs"—*Not et Extr* xiii 218.

² *Initial Coinage of Bengal*, p 16, J R.A.S., N S, vol ii p 160, Marco Polo, cap xxxix.

³ Col Yule, however, in insisting upon the 10 1 as the *normal* rate, has to do great violence to probabilities in claiming so sudden a change as that from 10 1 to 7 1, within a comparatively brief period, and attributing it to the influx of gold from the south, which in truth commenced with Alá ud-dín's conquests in 693 A.H., or some thirty years prior to the accession of Muhammad bin Tughlak. The intermediate reigns show a well maintained proportion of gold to silver in extant examples, and we hear of no particular accession of southern gold as the result of Fakhr ud-dín Júná's command in that direction during his father's lifetime. Col Yule remarks—"It has occurred to me as just possible that the changes made by Muhammad bin Tughlak in the coinage may have had reference to the depreciation of gold owing to the 'great Dekhan prize money' of that age. Thus, previous to his time we have gold and silver coins of equal weight, and bearing (according to the view which has been explained) a nominal ratio of ten to one. Muhammad on coming to the throne finds that in conse-

the period of Muhammad bin Tughlak's accession, to a proportion as low as 7:1; and, singular to say, these two scales, viz, 8:1 and 7:1, are those which most consistently fall in with and explain the figures in the subjoined table, and lead to the preferential conclusion that at the moment of revision the old rate of 8:1 had sunk to 7:1, and had been provided for accordingly. It is not necessary to define *when* this change came about; it is sufficient to say that the fact was officially recognized on the occasion of the reconstruction and remodeling of the coinage undertaken in 725 A.H.

TABLE OF EXCHANGE RATES OF GOLD AND SILVER COIN IN INDIA.

Conflicting Scale, on the Accession of Muhammad bin Tughlak

GOLD	SILVER.	
7:1—175 × 7=1225=	{ 7 old silver pieces { 7 × 175=1225	
	{ 9 new " " { 9 × 140=1260	
8:1—175 × 8=1400=	{ 8 old " " { 8 × 175=1400	
	{ 10 new " " { 10 × 140=1400	
10:1—175 × 10=1750=	{ 10 old " " { 10 × 175=1750	
	{ 12 5 new " " { 12 5 × 140=1750	
12:1—175 × 12=2100=	{ 12 old " " { 12 × 175=2100.	
	{ 15 new " " { 15 × 140=2100	
14:1—175 × 14=2450=	{ 14 old " " { 14 × 175=2450	
	{ 17 5 new " " { 17 5 × 140=2450	

** Revised Scale, introduced to meet the fall in gold*

7:1—200 × 7=1400=	{ 8 old silver pieces { 8 × 175=1400	
	{ 10 new " " { 10 × 140=1400.	
8:1—200 × 8=1600=	{ 9 old " " { 9 × 175=1575	
	{ 11 new " " { 11 × 140=1540	
10:1—200 × 10=2000=	{ 11 429 old " { 11 429 × 175=2000	
	{ 14 285 new " { 14 285 × 140=2000	
12:1—200 × 12=2400=	{ 13 714 old " { 13 714 × 175=2400	
	{ 17 14 new " { 17 14 × 140=2400	
14:1—200 × 14=2800=	{ 16 old " { 16 × 175=2800	
	{ 20 new " { 20 × 140=2800	

quence of the great influx of gold the relative value of that metal has fallen greatly, say to something like seven to one, which as a local result where great treasure in gold had suddenly poured in, is, I suppose, conceivable. He issues a

On previous occasions, where I have sought to discover, from the internal evidence of the coins themselves, the object proposed in the changes they bore testimony to, I was misled by the supposition that the 140 grain silver piece was an innovation of Muhammad bin Tughlak's own conception, devised and given effect to simultaneously with the production of the novel 200 grain gold *dinār*. I now see from the passage in the *Khazáin ul Futúh*, quoted at page 247, that this coin was the invention of Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh (No. 14 of the general list), designed apparently to aid the general scheme of reduction of the pay of the troops.¹ Whether any partial or complete mintage of such money ever took place, we need not stop to inquire; but the act of recognizing the existence of such a theoretical measure of value at once reduces the absolute innovations of Muhammad bin Tughlak to the single item of the new gold piece, and leaves us the more simple task of detecting the motive of a single modification, instead of entering upon the complications of a double variation in the leading representatives of gold and silver coin. At the rate of 8:1, as will be seen from the figures given above, *eight* old silver *tankahs* and *ten*

coinage which shall apply to this new ratio, and yet preserve the relation of the pieces as ten to one. This accounts for his 200 grain gold and 140 grain silver pieces. Some years later, after the disastrous result of his copper tokens, the value of gold has risen, and he reverts to the old standard of 175 grains, leaving (as far as I can gather) the silver piece at its reduced weight. At the exchange of ten silver pieces for one of gold, this now represents a relative value of eight to one.—Cathay and the Way thither, p. ccli.

¹ "Alá-ud-dín . . . apprehensive of another invasion of the Moghuls, he increased his forces so greatly, that upon calculating the expense, he found his revenues, and what treasures he had himself amassed, could not support them above six years. In this dilemma he resolved to reduce the pay of the army, but it occurred to him that this could not be done with propriety, without lowering, proportionably, the price of horses, arms, and provision."—Briggs's *Ferishtah*,

new 'adalis went to the old gold *tankah*, in the variation of the rate from 8 1 to 7 1, a corresponding reduction had either to be made in the number of silver pieces, as the received equivalents of the existing gold piece, or a new gold piece had to be produced which should leave the old numerical rates of silver coins untouched, and this is exactly what the 200 grain *dinar* accomplishes eight old silver *tankahs* and ten new 'adalis constitute the change for the new *dinar*. As has been shown above (coin, No 173), this description of piece was continued in a different form, though eventually the gold coinage reverted to the ancient standard of weight, or 175 grains. A momentary attempt was also made to revert to the old silver *tankah* in 734 A H, but this movement does not seem to have been sustained, and thus it would appear that the 140 grain silver coins continued to hold the position of the largest silver piece supplied by the mint, and it is to these pieces we must understand the African authorities refer when they fix the rate of 10 *dirhams* to 1 gold 175 grain *tankah*, which brings us back to the previous 8 1, a rate which would be readily restored without State interference by the limitation of the supply of gold, its inevitable absorption by the masses, and the importation of silver from proximate lands, which the anomalously high rate would be sure to encourage. It would seem from the way in which Ibn Batutah reserves the name of *tankah* for the gold coins alone that no full weight silver *tankahs* whatever were in the course of issue from the mints at the period of his residence in India, and the very curious combination of the term of *دياردرهم* might almost be taken to point to the *dirhams*, which were associated in the public mind with the introduction of the prefixed Arabic name, which had been made special to the new gold coin, in supercession of the indigenous

denominations hitherto in use. So also the passage from the *Masálik al Absár* already quoted (p 228), speaks of "*dinars courants*" of six *dirhams* [*hashthanis*], and eight millions of "*dinars courants* ou 48 millions de *dirhams*" • These are clearly 140 grain coins, following on with the conventional حائر "current," and شرعى "legal," of Nos 201, 202, and the distinction is further marked in the same work in the General Table of Coins, which follow the old system, and expressly designates the silver piece of 8 *dirhams hashthani*, as "*le tankah d'argent*" ¹

¹ On further consideration, I have decided to reproduce the original text in its entirety, from M. Quatremère's article, in order that there may be no misapprehension as to the sources of my knowledge or the accuracy of the interpretation I put upon the data supplied — "Suivant ce que m'a raconté le scheikh Moubarak, le *lac rouge* **اللك الأبيض** contient 100 000 *tankah* (d'or) et le *lac blanc* **اللك الأحمر** 100 000 *tankah* (d'argent) Le *tankah* d'or, appelé dans ce pays *tankah rouge* **السكه القرقه**, équivaut à trois *mithkals*, et le *tankah* d'argent **السكه القصبه** comprend huit dirhems *heschtkanis* Le dirhem *heschtkani* a le même poids que le dirhem d'argent **الدهرم القرقه**, qui a cours en Égypte et en Syrie La valeur de l'une et l'autre pièce est la même, et ne diffère presque en rien Le dirhem *heschtkani* répond à quatre dirhems *Sultani*, autrement nommés *doukanis* **الدكانه** [do kân. No 206] Le dirhem *Sultani* vaut le tiers d'un dirhem *scheschkani* **سستكاني** (je lis ششكاي pièce de six), qui est une troisième espèce de monnaie d'argent qui a cours dans l'Inde, et qui équivaut aux trois quarts du dirhem *heschtkani* Une pièce, qui est la moitié du dirhem *Sultani*, se nomme *yelani* **يکاني** (pièce d'un), et vaut un *dinâr* **دینار** [No 207] Un autre dirhem, appelé *douazdehkani* **دوازدهکای** (pièce de douze), a cours pour un *heschtkani* et demi Une autre pièce appelée *schanzdelani* **سازدهکای**, correspond à deux dirhems Ainsi les monnaies d'argent, en usage dans l'Inde, sont au nombre de six, savoir le dirhem *schani delani* **سازدهکای**, le *doua delani* **دوازدهکای**, le *heschtkani*, le *scheschkani* **سستکاني**, le *sultani* et le *yelani* **يکاني**. La moindre de ces pièces est le dirhem *sultani* Ces trois espèces de dirhems ont cours dans le commerce, et sont reçues universellement mais aucune n'est d'un usage plus général que le dirhem *sultani*, qui équivaut à un quart de dirhem, monnaie d'Égypte et de

MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLAK'S FORCED CURRENCY.

Towards the close of the thirteenth century of our era, and during the succeeding forty years, no less than three Asiatic potentates essayed to enrich their treasuries by the issue of representative currencies. Kublai Khán, the Moghul conqueror of China, so far introduced the device, that he expanded and systematized the use of paper notes, which had very early developed itself in that empire;¹ so that circumstances were eminently propitious for the experiment, both in the precedent, the instincts of the people, and the absence of coined money in gold or silver. The latter item alone constituted, in itself, a most important element in the immediate success of the measure, as no vulgar prejudice had to be offended by the withdrawal or supercession of current money of positive intrinsic value; and the very introduction of a paper currency of graduated denominations, bearing the stamp of so powerful a monarch, aided materially in the development of commercial intercourse among the people at large.²

Syrie Le dirhem *sultani* vaut huit fcls (جيتل) *حسل* (oboles), le *dirhal* *حسل* (جيتل), quatre fcls, et le dirhem *heschilani*, qui correspond parfaitement au dirhem d'argent d'Égypte et de Syrie, vaut trente-deux fcls. Le *ruil* (roil) de l'Inde, qui porte le nom de *سر*, pèse 70 mithkals, qui estimés en dirhems d'Égypte, en valent 102½. Quarante *sur* forment un *mann* *واحد*. On ne connaît pas dans l'Inde la méthode de mesurer les grains — Notices et Extraits, xiii 211

¹ The introduction dates from 119 n. c. H Parkes, J R A S xiii 179. P Grubb, quoted in Madden, p 357, note 577

² The following is Marco Polo's account of the paper currency of Kublai Khán "In this city of Kanbalu is the mint of the grand Khan, who may truly be said to possess the secret of the alchemists, as he has the art of producing money by the following process — He causes the bark to be stripped from those mulberry-trees, the leaves of which are used for feeding silkworms, and takes from it that thin inner rind which lies between the coarser bark and the wood of the tree. This being steeped, and afterwards pounded in a mortar, until reduced to a pulp, is made into paper, resembling (in substance) that which is manufactured from

Very different were the terms Kai Khátú proposed to inflict upon his subjects in Persia: his motive was obviously evil, and the surroundings inauspicious under almost every aspect. Many of the clauses of the *Tabriz Tchao* edict of A.H. 693 (A.D. 1294) followed the Chinese system; but instead of

cotton, but quite black. When ready for use, he has it cut into pieces of money of different sizes, nearly square, but somewhat longer than they are wide. Of these, the smallest pass for a denier tournois, the next for a Venetian silver groat, others for two, five and ten groats, others for one, two, three, and as far as ten besants of gold. The coinage of this paper money is authenticated with as much form and ceremony as if it were actually of pure gold or silver, for to each note a number of officers, specially appointed, not only subscribe their names, but affix their signets also, and when this has been regularly done by the whole of them, the principal officer, deputed by his Majesty, having dipped into vermillion the royal seal, committed to his custody, stamps with it the piece of paper, so that the form of the seal, tinged with vermillion, remains impressed upon it, by which it receives full authenticity as current money, and the act of counterfeiting it is punished as a capital offence. When thus coined in large quantities, this paper currency is circulated in every part of the grand Khán's dominions, nor dare any person, at the peril of his life, refuse to accept it in payment. All his subjects receive it without hesitation, because, wherever their business may call them, they can dispose of it again in the purchase of merchandise they may have occasion for, such as pearls, jewels, gold or silver. With it in short, every article can be procured.

When any persons happen to be possessed of paper money which from long use has become damaged, they carry it to the mint, where, upon the payment of only 3 per cent, they may receive fresh notes in exchange. Should any be desirous of procuring gold or silver for the purposes of manufacture, such as drinking cups, girdles, or other articles wrought of these metals, they in like manner apply at the mint, and for their paper obtain the bullion they require. All his Majesty's armies are paid with this currency which is to them of the same value as if it were gold or silver.—Marsden, cap. xviii.

Among other substitutes for money, Marco Polo notices the use of coral in Tibet. He says: "These people use no coined money, nor even the paper money of the grand Khán, but for their currency employ coral." The money or currency they make use of (in Kain du) is thus prepared. Their gold is formed into small rods, and passes according to its weight, without any stamp. This is their greater money, the smaller is salt cakes, on which the stamp of the grand Khán is impressed, 80 of the cakes are made to pass for a saggio of gold. In Karaian they employ for money the white porcelain shell found in the sea, 80 of these shells equal in value 1 saggio of silver.

Ibn Batutah's testimony to the success of Kublai's paper currency is as follows:

bringing a benefit, in disguise, it was manifestly fraudulent in its inception, associated with tyranny and oppression in the enforcement of its provisions; so much so, that Ghazán Khán, the nephew of the reigning monarch, refused to admit the fictitious money within the limits of his government of Khorasán. And the measure, upheld with much difficulty

"Les habitants de la Chine n'emploient dans leurs transactions commerciales ni pièces d'or ni pièces d'argent. Toutes celles qui arrivent dans ce pays sont fondues en lingots, comme nous venons de le dire. Ils vendent et ils achètent au moyen de morceaux de papier, dont chacun est aussi large que la paume de la main, et porte la marque ou le sceau du Sultan. Vingt cinq de ces billets sont appelés *balicht* (بالشت), ce qui revient au sens du mot dinár, ou de pièce d'or chez nous (Ibn Batutah expressly mentions that there is no charge for renewal of the worn paper). Si un individu se rend au marché avec une pièce d'argent, ou bien avec une pièce d'or, dans le dessein d'acheter quelque chose, on ne la lui prend pas, et l'on ne fait aucune attention à lui, jusqu'à ce qu'il l'ait changée contre le *bálcht* ou les billets avec lesquels il pourra acheter ce qu'il désirera"—Ibn Batutah, Paris edit iv 259 (About 1345 A.D.) See also Not et Extr xiii. 222

Du Halde, in his great work upon China, has given an engraving of one of the notes of *Hong vou* (*Tai tsou*) (A.D. 1366), the founder of the twenty first or Ming dynasty, and adds, "these sheets are much sought after by those that build, who hang them up as a rarity on the chief beam of the house, which, according to vulgar notion, preserves the house from all misfortunes" (English edition, London, 1741, vol ii p 293)

Colonel H Yule has succeeded in obtaining a specimen of the early Ming dynasty's paper currency, which has the peculiarity of being "nearly black," as described by Marco Polo. Antiquarians await, with much interest, Col Yule's account of this fragment of Eastern life, which is to appear in his forthcoming edition of the *Travels of Marco Polo*.

The inscriptions on the sides of the *Hong vou* note are given in a translated form by Du Halde as follows.

"1 The Court of the Treasury having presented their petition, it is decreed that the paper money thus marked with the Imperial seal of Ming shall pass current, and be put to the same use as copper coin. Those who counterfeit it shall be beheaded."

"2 He who shall inform against and secure them [the forgers] shall have a reward of 250 taëls. Besides, he shall receive the goods of the criminal, as well immovable as movable. Dated such a year, month, and day, of the reign of *Hong vou*."

during the space of two months, contributed indirectly to the loss of Kai Khátú's throne, and the bowstring avenged his people's wrongs little more than six months after the first proclamation of this notable financial operation.¹

Khai Khátú's scheme for a paper currency was designed,² not to aid the existing circulation, but to suppress and supersede altogether the use of gold and silver money, as well as to prevent the employment of those metals in manufactures, the object being that all the precious metals in the land might

¹ D Ohsson, iv 101, Malcolm's Persia, i 430, De Guignes, Book xvii. 267, Langlés, Memr de l'Institut, iv 116, Price's Mahommedan History, ii. 596, De Saulcy, Journal Asiatique, 1842, Prof E B Cowell, J A S Bengal, 1860, p 187.

² The following is a description of the form and legends of the notes

هيات و صورت چاو بدین منوال بود پیرامین سطح کاعد پاره مرتع
مستطیل چمد کلمه بخط خطایی که محض خطا این بود نوشته و
نژادای آن از دو طرف 'لااله الا الله' محمد رسول الله 'بیکه سیکه نقد و
واسطه فراید عقد و طعرائی صحیفه منشور و متقم تعایم آن محور ساخته
و مروت راران

ایرینچین تورجی

تحریر کرده و در میانه دایره کشیده خارج از مرکز صواب و اریم
درهم تا ده دینار رقم زده و بشیوه سُطُور در قلم آورده که پادشاه جهان
کیخاتو خان در تاریخ سه ثلاث و تسعین و ستمایه این چاو مارکرا
در ممالک روانه گردانید، تعیر و تبدیل کسده را با زن و مررد سا
رسابیده مال اورا محبت دیوان بردارد

be monopolized by the ruling power. The execution of the decree necessarily fell with immediate severity on the everyday transactions of life, and was felt more especially in the matter of provisions, which, like all other goods, were not allowed to be paid for in coin, and as the dealers objected to the new substitute for cash, they adopted the simple alternative of closing their shops, and produced absolute famine in the metropolis, while plenty reigned in the districts around. No wonder, then, that the starved citizens of Tabriz rose up as one man and wreaked their vengeance upon the subordinate whom they deemed the author of their woes, while the Sultán was left to discover from the empty streets that all was not well with his capital.

Far other motives seem to have actuated Muhammad bin Tughlak's trial of a forced currency. Of course, the introduction of so sweeping a measure as making the king's brass equivalent to other men's silver, admits of scant defence among civilized nations. Fakhr-ud dín Júná, as the Sultán^{*} was called before his accession to the throne, was not innately a vicious man, though absolute beyond the ordinary range of Eastern despots, and whose severities, not to say cruelties, would have emptied many another throne he ruled for twenty seven years, or nearly as long as the combined reigns of his six predecessors, and died in his bed at last,¹ a mercy that was only doubtfully extended to one of the six monarchs in question. His leading eccentricities are described as profusion and want of mercy,¹ the first took the form of Oriental

¹ Here is Ibn Batutah's estimate of the Sultán whom he served: 'Mohammed est de tous les hommes celui qui aime davantage à faire des cadeaux et aussi à repandre le sang (عس فسر يعسى أو حى يفسل). Sa porte voit toujours près d'elle quelque *fakir* qui devient riche, ou quelque être vivant qui est mis à mort. Ses traits de générosité et de bravoure, et ses exemples de cruauté et de violence

liberality, in regal gifts, rather than in mere ostentatious display or reckless personal extravagance; the second was perchance, incident to the disregard of human life prevailing around him, and his own avowed conviction of its necessity. Of avarice, however, no one has accused him, he may well have heard of the success of the paper currency in China, equally as he may have learnt the fate the similar but less effectively concerted device had met with in Persia; nevertheless he may have felt and justly conceived that he was strong enough to try the experiment, and he withdrew from it frankly when it proved a failure. Severe to the extreme in his punishments, and, doubtless, ready to enforce the penalties said to have been specified in the original proclamation,¹ no threat of vengeance is recorded on the forced currency, as had been the case with the Chinese and Persian notes. The legends on the brass tokens consist

envers les coupables ont obtenu de la célébrité parmi le peuple. Malgré cela, il est le plus humble des hommes et celui qui montre le plus d'équité, les cérémonies de la religion sont observées à sa cour, il est très sévère en ce qui regarde la prière et la chatiment qui suit son inexécution. Il est au nombre des rois dont la félicité est grande, et dont les heureux succès dépassent ce qui est ordinaire, mais sa qualité dominante, c'est la générosité. —Ibn Batutah, *iii.* 215

The Shaikh Mubarak bin Mahmūd *Anbati*, who also visited Muhammad bin Tughlak's Court, is equally warm in his praises of the generosity, humility, and accomplishments of the Sultān, but does not allude to his cruelties —*Manāḥ al-ʿAsdr*, in *Notices et Extraits*, *xiii.* pp 190, 191. See also another witness pp 187, 207, etc.

¹ I do not reproduce the minor details of this operation as variously recorded in the versions of the Indian historians. In the mere order of priority of publication, I may refer the reader to Dow, *i.* p 302, Briggs, *i.* p 414, who translate Persian text. An English rendering of the Persian text of the *Tabākat-i Akbari* is to be found in my first edition of the *Pathān Sultāns*, p 56. The original Persian passage from Zīā Barī is given in my *Supplement* (Delhi, 1861 p 19, and *Num Chron.* *xv.* p 140), and the text of that author has since been published in extenso in Calcutta (1862), and freely translated by Prof Dowson *Elliot's Historians* vol *iii.* p 240. See also Elphinstone's *India*, p 405; and *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1860, p 193.

either of an appeal to the religious devotion of one section of his subjects, or of an official intimation of legal equivalents to guide the mercantile classes: in no instance were these representatives of real money issued to pass for the more valuable current gold pieces; the highest coin he desired credit for, in virtue of the regal stamp, was a Tankah of 140 grains of silver, and the minor subdivisions were elaborately provided for in detail. No interference whatever seems to have been contemplated with the existing circulating media, and the proportion of the new coinage absolutely uttered, large as it was, must have been infinitesimal, in reference either to the income of the Sovereign or the fabulous wealth of the kingdom over which he held sway.¹ With every material element of success, this carefully organized measure was doomed to failure, from an altogether unforeseen cause. His Majesty's officers of the mint worked with precisely the same tools as the ordinary workman, and operated upon a metal, so to say, universally available. There was no special machinery to mark the difference of the fabric of the Royal Mint and the handy-work of the moderately skilled artisan.² Unlike the precautions taken to prevent

¹ Mubarak Anbati gives an illustration of the wealth of the land, in the incident of the confiscation of a sum of 437,000,000 *miskals* of gold from one offender, "an incalculable mass of gold"—Not et Ext xiii 194. See also p 173, the old story of the discovery of 40 *bahars* of gold, each *bahar* weighing 333 *mans*

² Zia Barni says—در هر خانه اربابهای هندوان دارالصربی پیدا آمد—و هندوان بلاد ممالک کرورها و لکها از مبرمس ضرب کتابیدند
Calcutta text, 475

T. Mubarak Shah—هندوان و مفسدان مواسات و موالات علانیه در—
هر دینی دارالصرب ساختند و مبرمس میزدند

هر جا هرجا در مواضع خویش دارالصرب پیدا کرده در—Budhani
فلوس مس سکه میزدند

the imitation of the Chinese paper notes, there was positively no check upon the authenticity of the copper token, and no limit to the power of production by the masses at large.¹ Under such circumstances it is only strange that the new currency should have run so long a course as the three consecutive years (or one full year with portions of the first and last), the record of which we find on their surfaces. As has been already stated, when there remained no question as to the failure of the scheme, Muhammad bin Tughlak, unwillingly, perhaps, but honestly, attempted to meet the difficulty, by authorizing the reception of the copper tokens at the treasury and their exchange for full money equivalents. No scrutiny, had such been effectively practicable, was enjoined against illicit fabrications; and the sums actually exchanged may be estimated by the mounds upon mounds of brass coins, which were heaped up as mere rubbish in the Fort of Tughlakáhád (Dehli), where they were still to be seen a century later, in the reign of Mubárák Sháh II.² It is clear that, if good money was paid for all these tokens, Muhammad bin Tughlak's temporary loan, extracted from his own subjects, must have been repaid at a more than

¹ The Chinese evidently felt and anticipated some such result, and so avoided the evil here experienced. "It is easy to judge that there would be debasers of money in China, if the silver was coined as well as copper, since their small pieces of copper are so often counterfeited by the Chinese. Those who follow this trade mark the counterfeit coin with the same characters as are seen upon the true, but the metal they use is of a baser sort, and the weight not so good. If they happen to be discovered the crime is capital"—Du Halde, English edit. 1741, ii. 293

و اں میرمس مردود شد تا عایب در کوشک تعلقات چوں

* MS Tārīkh Mubárák Sháhi. نسبتاً مانده بود

So also, more explicitly, the Tārīkh Budáoni adds—

و آخر مس مس و نقره نقره بود و آن سکه های مس پشته پشته

Oriental rate of interest, though possibly, in very many instances, compensation reached parties but little entitled to it

I will now proceed to recapitulate, in brief detail, the more prominent and instructive specimens of Muhammad bin Tughlak's forced currency still extant. It will be seen that ordinarily the values attaching to the several gradational coins are specified on their surfaces, but in many cases the equivalents of the current money have to be discovered from the approximation to the old standards, in form or weight, given to the representative brass tokens. We have, in distinct terms, the 50 *kanı* piece, the half, the quarter, as well as the 8 *lānı* and 2 *kanı* pieces, and a correspondent of the 175 grain *tankah* might possibly be discovered in the brass money designated as *تکه رائج* "current Tankah" (No 195), but I prefer to look upon these pieces as provided to supply the places of the modified '*adali*' of 140 grains (No 180),¹ with which they are identical in weight, and

تا رماں مارکشاد بقول صاحب تاریخ مارکشاهی مانده در تعلق

اناد حکم سک داشت Calcutta text p 229

Ziā Barna's account of the original incoming of the brass tokens is even more graphic

و بدل آن مهر تکه ررو نقره و شش گانی و دو گانی در حانه بردند
و چندان تکه مس در حرابه درآمد که تودها آن تکه مس مثل

کودها در تعلق اناد برآمده ست Calcutta text, p 476

¹ The *adali* as a definite coin, first makes its appearance under Muhammad bin Tughlak, but it would seem from the following passage that its introduction was due to Alā ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh —

ایک این سست رحتست و فماش و امعه و اقمشه که سخته

to have been intended to pass at the same rate as the more definitely marked 60 *lani* piece of similar fabric Nos 197 and 198 may, perchance, have been designed for 10 *lani* pieces (as 110 60 112 10) and No 200 approximates in weight, under a similarly graduated scale of proportions, to a 20 *lani* piece or the 32 *ratī jurana* of 66 grains, already adverted to at pp 163 167, and regarding which further comparisons will be found at page 221, *et seq*

The use of the term *dirham* on Nos 202, 203, is more difficult to explain. The word is new among the Delhi mint ages, though as will be seen hereafter, it must have been common enough in the vernacular speech of the country. Were it not that there is an expressly designated "Hasht *kāni*," it would be reasonable to suppose that these were the *dirhams* spoken of by Ibn Batutah and Sheikh Mubārak, as reckoning eight to the old *tankah*, but as the latter coin was also in these times indifferently called a *dirham*, it is possible, in spite of the defective weight, which, however, was altogether disregarded in other cases, that these pieces may have been authoritative correspondents, in a different form, of the *adali* or 140 grain *tankah*

اسعداد سپاهی شاه و ساحی مباد در فلم آید ار سحتان و برمه
و پشمه و چرمه و روئنه و آئنه سکت و عد ساحت و مساداشه
با هر که دست عدلی ممداد و نعمت عدل کلامی خرید

Marginal note by Delhi commentator—عدلی سکه دست
—MS Tārīkh : Alāi of Mir Khusrū

No. 195 (pl. iv. fig. 96). Brass. Weight, 136 grs.
Daulatábád, A.H. 730. Dehli (تخت گاد), 731, 732.

من اطاع

السلطان

فقد اطاع

الرحمن

He who obeys the Sultán,
truly, he obeys God.

Margin—در تخت گاد

دولت آباد سال بر خفصد سی

At the seat of royalty, Daula-
tábád, in the year 730.

میر شد تنگه

رائج در روزگار

بندد امیدوار

محمد تغلق

Sealed as a *Tanlak* current
in the reign of the slave, hope-
ful (of mercy),

Muhammad Tughlak.

No. 196 (pl. iv. fig. 99). Brass. Weight, 132 grs.
Daulatábád, A.H. 731, 732. Very rare.

من اطاع

السلطان

فقد اطاع

الرحمن

Area. He who obeys the
Sultán, truly, he obeys
God.

Margin—در تخت گاد

دولت آباد سال برسی یک

At the seat of royalty, Daula-
tábád, in the year (7)31.

میر شد تنگه

پنجاد کانی در روزگار

بندد امیدوار

محمد تغلق



Sealed as a *Tanlak* of fifty
Kánis during the reign of the
slave, hopeful (of mercy),

Muhammad Tughlak.

No 197 (pl iv fig 100) Brass Weight, 112 grs
A H 730, 731

معد اطاع

الرحمن

تعلق

Truly, he obeys God
Tughlak

من اطاع

السلطان

محمد ٧٣٠

He who obeys the Sultan,
Muhammad, 730

No 198 (pl vi fig 101) Brass Weight, 112 grs

لا يولا السلطان.

كل الناس

يعتصم بعنا

تعلق

Sovereignty is not conferred
upon every man, (but) some
(are placed over) others¹

Tughlak

اطيعوا الله

واطيعوا الرسول

واولي الامر منكم

محمد ٧٣٠

Obey God, and obey the
Prophet, and those in authority
among you

Muhammad, 730

No 199 Brass Weight, 70 grs A H 730

محمد بن

تعلق

Muhammad bin Tughlak

صرب

الربعي ٧٣٠

Struck as a fourth (quarter
'adali), 730

¹ Kur'ân, Surah iv verse 62

No 200 Brass Weight, 55 grs A H 730
(See Marsden, No dccxv p 535)

عبد

محمد بن

تعلق

حسى

رتى ۷۳۰

Sufficientia mea Dominus est

Kurān iii 167 حَسْبُ اللَّهِ وَنَعَمَ الْوَكِيلُ

Fræhn (Recensio, p 115) has an example of a coin of Nuh bin Mansur, struck at Bokhara, in A.H. 376, with حسى الله on the top of the area

No 201 (pl iv fig 104) Brass Weight, 72 grs Rare

Centre—محمد

تعلق

تسكه رر

حائر درعد

سده امسوار

محمد تعلق

Margin—श्री मोहमद

Srih Mohamad

Money *Tankah* current in the reign of the slave hopeful (etc) Muhammad Tughlak

No 202 (pl iv fig 105) Weight, 80 grs Stacey collection
Unpublished Daulatabād, A H 730 Dehli (حصرة) A H 730,
732 * Dehli (دارالملک) A H 730 Dehli (دارالاسلام) A H 730

سدارالاسلام

في سه ثلث

وسعمایه

صرب الدرهم

الشرعى فى رس

العد محمد بن

تعلق

At the seat of Islam, in the year, 730

Struck as a lawful *dirham* in the time of the slave, Muhammad bin Tughlak

No 203 *حصره دهلی*, A H 730, 732 (No less than three selected specimens of these latter mintages exactly *touch* the 80 grains)

No 204 Copper Weight, 103 grs Unique Daulatabád, A H 730
Nasfi

محمد بن تغلق

حصره دولاب آباد

سه ثلث و سعمانه

Muhammad bin Tughlak, at the capital, Daulatabad, year 730



سرب هده

الصفي في روم

العبد الرحي

رحمه الله

This half piece (was) struck during the time of the slave, trusting in the mercy of God

No 205 Brass Weight, 53 grs Rare *Hashikani*

محمد

تغلق

سعد

هشت کاب

No 206 Variety Weight, 25 grs Rare *Dokani*

محمد

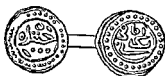
تغلق



سکه

دوکاب

No 207 Copper Weight, 74 grs Gen Cunningham Unique



مختل

A *Jastil*

اماسی

یکاب

The equivalent of one *lani*

No 208 (pl iv fig 107) Copper Weight, 53 grs A H 732

Centre—محمد تعلق

الملك

Margin—سال بر هفتصد سی دو

والعزة لله

In the year 732.

Dominion and glory are of God

There are very few specimens of the exclusively copper coins of Muhammad bin Tughlak, the copper currency *proper* seems to have been confined to the three examples quoted below (Nos 209, 210, 211), but in many cases dies intended for the small silver coins, and the less marked and declaratory legends of the forced currency, seem to have been employed to stamp copper, which, in the fullness of its weight, carried its own value in the market, irrespective of any especial superscription

No 209 Copper Weight, 68 grs

Obverse—السلطان ظل الله The Sultan, shadow of God

Reverse—محمد بن تعلقشاه Muhammad bin Tughlak Shah

No 210 Copper Weight, 53 grs Col Stacey A H 730

Obverse—الوائق نصر الله ٧٣٠

Reverse—محمد بن تعلق شاه

No 211 Copper Weight, 54 grs Rare¹

Obverse—محمد

Reverse—تعلقشاه

¹ Ibn Batutah has preserved a curious record of the legends inscribed upon the coinage of the *Sherif* Jalál ud dín Absar Sháh, commandant in Malabar (معمر) who threw off his allegiance to Muhammad bin Tughlak, and issued money bearing his own name in 742 A H

وصرف الدينار والدرهم باسمه وكان يكتب في إحدى صحتي

We have seen with what Numismatic honours Altamsh welcomed the sanctification of his new kingdom of the East by the reigning Khalif of Baghdád in 626 A. H. Within thirty years of that date the office of the chief Pontiff of the Muslim world was destined to be extinguished in the person of Mustansir's successor, the unhappy Must'asim, who was so cruelly put to death by Hulákú-Khán, on the capture of the city of the Faith, in 656 A. H. With all the Barbarian superstition that hesitated to shed what was esteemed sacred blood, the conqueror did not scruple to crush into one unseemly mass the bones of his victim,¹ coincidently with the surrender of the inoffensive inhabitants of the favoured city, estimated at 800,000 persons, to the wanton slaughter of the Mughal troops. While the throne of the Khalifs became but an idle symbol, and the centre of Islám was converted into a ghastly camp of Nomads, the latest Muhammadan conquest "in partibus infidelium" must have been singularly

الديار رسالة طه ونس ابوالفقرا والمساكين حلال الدنيا والدين و
بي الصفحة الاخرى الواثق بتايد الرحمان احسن شاه السلطان

Et frappa en son propre nom des monnaies d'or et d'argent Sur un des cotés des dinárs il avait grave les mots suivants Le progeniture de *Thd-hd* et *Id-sin* (ces lettres, qui constituent les titres de deux chapitres du Korán, le *xx*^e et le *xxvi*, sont du nombre des epithètes qu'on donne à Mahomet), le père des fakirs et des indigents, *Jellal ud duniá wa ud din* Et sur l'autre face Celui qui met sa confiance dans le secours du Miséricordieux, *Ahsan Shdh Sultán* — Paris edition, iii. 328 Ferishtah, i. 423

¹ The Habíb us Siyar says, "The captives were wrapped up in coarse hair blankets, and in that state rolled backwards and forwards on the ground with such force and violence that every joint and articulation of their frames was either smashed or wrought asunder."—Price's Muhammadan History, ii p. 222

Novari, quoted by D'Ohason (iii 243), says they were tied up in sacks and trodden under foot by horses One incident in the general extermination is remarkable, the Christians were unreservedly spared, the Nestorian Church constituted, without challenge, their city of refuge (iii 339, 241).—Abul Faraj, 339

ignorant of, or strangely indifferent to, the events that affected their newly-conceded allegiance, as the name of the martyred Must'asim was retained on the Dehli coinage for some forty years after his death. Rukn-ud-dín Ibrahím, the twelfth king, is the first to discontinue the practice, when, after the murder of Fírúz in the camp of 'Alá-ud-dín, the party in power at Dehli elevated the boy-king, they denominated his father ناصر امير المؤمنين, a title which Altamsh had affected in early days (see Inscriptions G and H, pp. 80 and 155 *supra*). 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh assumed the designation of *يمين الخليفة*, Right hand of the Khalifat (coin No. 130, etc.; inscription O, p. 173); but Mubárak, more distinctly, calls himself Khalífah¹ (the most mighty Imám, Khalífah of the Lord of the two worlds); and his capital, *Dár ul Khiláfat*, "seat of the Khalífah;" and even goes so far as to adopt, in addition to the *خليفة الله* (Vicegerent of God), the spiritual title of *Al Wásiḱ billah* (p. 181). The converted Hindu *Khusrú* likewise affects, in a subdued degree, the attributes of a leader of Islám, styling himself *الواثق خير الرحمن ولي امير المؤمنين* "The relying upon the goodness of the All-merciful, successor² of the Commander of the Faithful." Ghías-ud-dín Tughlak Sháh, with higher claims, seems to have been a much more humble Muhammadan, for he delights in such designations as "the Testifier," "the *Ghází*," "Champion of the Faith," etc. The son, Muhammad, is even more modest in his titles, but largely affects quotations from the Kurán. Later in his reign (741

¹ So also, in later days, Akbar introduced the new formula of *لا اله الا الله والاكبر* "There is no god but God, and *the Akbar* is his Vicegerent."—Wilson's Works, ii 391.

² The term *ولي* has an extended range of meanings. The reference here seems to be to Mubárak as Khalif.

A H.) his religious sentiments asserted themselves more definitively, and scruples having arisen in his mind as to the imperfection of his own title to the sovereignty—unconfirmed as it was by sacerdotal sanction¹—he sought to remedy this defect by soliciting the patent of the then representative of the line of the Abbassite Khalifs, whose immediate predecessors had so fallen from the ancient high estate as to accept a palace and a pension from the Sultán of Egypt. In anticipation of the receipt of such acknowledgment, Muhammad

¹ "When the Sultán returned to Dehli, it occurred to his mind that no king or prince could exercise regal power without confirmation by the *Khalifah* of the race of 'Abbás, and that every king who had, or should hereafter reign, without such confirmation, had been, or would be, overpowered. The Sultán made diligent inquiries from many travellers about the *Khalifahs* of the line of 'Abbás, and he learned that the representatives of the line of 'Abbás were the *Khalifahs* of Egypt. So he and his ministers and advisers came to an understanding with the *Khalifah* that was in Egypt, and while the Sultán was at Sarg dwári he sent despatches to him about many things. When he returned to the city he stopped the prayers of the Sabbath and the 'Ids. He had his own name and style removed from his coins, and that of the *Khalifah* substituted, and his flatteries of the *Khalifah* were so fulsome that they cannot be reduced to writing. In the year 744 A H (1343 A.D.), Háji Sa'id Sarsari came to Dehli, from Egypt, bringing to the Sultán honours and a robe from the *Khalifah*. The Sultán, with all his nobles and *sayyids* and . . . , went forth to meet the Háji with great ceremony, . . . and he walked before him barefoot for the distance of some long bowshots. . . . From that date permission was given, that out of respect the *Khalifah's* name should be repeated in the prayers for Sabbaths and holydays, . . . and it was also ordered that in mentioning the names of the kings in the *khutba* they should be declared to have reigned under the authority and confirmation of the Abbási *Khalifahs*. The names of those kings who had not received such confirmation were to be removed from the *khutba*, and the kings were to be declared to be superseded (*mutaghallab*). . . . The name of the *Khalifah* was ordered to be inscribed on lofty buildings, and no other name besides. . . . The Sultán directed that a letter acknowledging his subordination to the *Khalifah* should be sent by the hands of Háji Rajab Barka'i, . . . and after two years of correspondence the Háji returned from Egypt, bringing a diploma in the name of the Sultán, as deputy of the *Khalifah*."—Elliot's *Historians*, iii 249, text, 491 Ibn Batutah, i 363, Ferishtah, Briggs, i. 426

bin Tughlak discontinued the use of his own name on the coinage,¹ and supplanted it by that of *Al-mustakfi billah*; whose designation appears on the Indian coins minted in 741, 742, and 743 A.H.; while the later periods are marked by that of his son, *Al Hakim b'amr ullah Abú al Abbás Akmad*.

The following is a list of the earlier Egyptian Khalifs, taken from Abú Faraj. There is a conflict of testimony as to the accuracy of the succession in some instances, and still more uncertainty in regard to the precise dates of accession, etc.² In short, their own obscurity extended to their history;³ but as the authoritative names are the chief matter of

¹ This is a very odd phase of Muhammad bin Tughlak's progressive thought. So little occasion does there seem to have been, at the moment, for any such disturbing idea, as far as the associations of proximate kingdoms extended, that the Sultan had to examine all sorts of stray travellers to discover where a scion of the old house could be found, as Zia Barni, a contemporary Indian biographer, says—

سلطان از سیار تنوع میکرد تا از سیار مسافران شنید که خلیفه
از آل عباس در مصر خلافت متمکن است. Calcutta text, p ۴۹۶.

Though all this feeling may well have arisen out of new and more advanced studies of his own religion, or descriptions by the Western visitors at his own Court of the bye gone glories of the supreme Pontiffs of the Muslim world, who had more or less swayed the destinies of the East for five centuries, and whose extermination was so intimately associated with one of India's perpetual grievances, the success of the Mughals, who were ever threatening the gates of Delhi. Later, in point of time, Muhammad bin Tughlak secured as a visitor at his own Court a scion of the line of Abbás, in the person of Ghíás ad-din Muhammad, a son of a great-grandson of the Khalif of Baghdád, *Al Mustansir billah*, and he seems almost to have regretted his hasty adhesion to the Egyptian branch, for, after loading his guest with all manner of inconsistent honours, he naïvely confessed to him that had he not already pledged his faith to the African Khalif, he would have sworn allegiance to him; in short, have secured a submissive Khalif of his own—Ibn Batutah, in 258, etc.

² Abú Faraj himself gives a great many optional statements from other authorities, while M. de Gaignes' series differs very materially both in the order of succession and dates of events from the present list (*Hist. des Huns* i. 332).

³ Les Mamelucs ou Sultáns d'Egypte, qui avoient fait ces Khalifes ce qu'ils étoient en les reconnoissant pour tels, les faisoient et les defaisoient selon leur

importance in the present inquiry, I have not thought it necessary to sift in detail the mass of contradictory testimony under its local aspect.

THE EGYPTIAN KHALIFS

1 المستنصر بالله ابو القاسم احمد بن الطاهر بالله العباسي
Inaugurated 9th Rajab, 659 A.H.

2 الحاكم بامر الله ابو العباس احمد
Inaugurated Zi'l hujjah, 660 A.H.

3 المستكفى بالله ابو الربيع سليمان ابن الحاكم بامر الله
Inaugurated Jumáda'l awwal, 701 A.H.

4 الواثق بالله ابراهيم بن محمد المستمسك
Inaugurated 740 A.H.

5 الحاكم بامر الله ابو العباس احمد بن المستكفى بالله
Proclaimed 741 A.H.

6 ابو العتج المعتضد بالله ابوبكر ابن المستكفى بالله
Proclaimed 753 A.H.

7 المتوكل على الله ابو عبد الله محمد بن المعتضد
Inaugurated Jumáda'l ákhir, 763 A.H.

8 الواثق ابو حفص عمران بن المعتصم ابراهيم بن المستمسك
Inaugurated 785 A.H.

9 المعتصم بالله ابو يحيى زكريا ابن المعتصم ابراهيم
Inaugurated 788 A.H.

10 المتوكل (restored)
Inaugurated 791 A.H.

11 المستعين بالله ابو العصل العباس بن المتوكل على الله
Inaugurated Sh'abán, 808 A.H.

bon plaisir . . . Mais nonobstant l'autorité que les Sultáns d'Egypte exerçoient sur ces Khálifes, néanmoins les mêmes Sultáns se servoient d'eux pour se faire confirmer et autoriser auprès les peuples," etc —D'Herbelot, *sub voce*, "Khálifah"

Coins struck in the name of the Egyptian Khalifs

No 212 *Gold* Weight, 163.5 grs (A worn coin, with imperfectly executed legends) A second, 167 grs *DEHLI*, 741, 742, 743:

صرب هذا الدینار	فی زمان الامام المستکفی
الجلعتی الدہلی فی شور	بالله امر المومنین ابو الریح
سہ احدى اربعین وسعمایہ	سلیمان حلد الله علامہ

Al Mustakfi Billah, Abu al rabi'a Sulaiman, Khalif of Egypt
(No 3 of the above list), A H 701 to 740

No 213 (pl III fig 86) *Gold* Weight, 170 (171.0, 169.4) grs

فی زمان الامام	الله ابو
امر المومنین	العباس احمد
الحاکم بامر	حلد ملکہ

Al Hakim b'amr illah, Abu al Abbas, Ahmad, Khalif of Egypt
(No 5 of the above list), A H 741 to 753

No 214 *Silver* Weight, 55 grs *Rare* A H 743

Obverse—حلعه الله فی شور

Reverse—المستکفی بالله ٧٤٣

No 215 (pl III fig 109) *Silver and copper* Weight, 132 grs

No 215a *Major Stubbs* Weight, 138 grs *Daulatabad*, A H 744

Obverse—الامام الاعظم حلعه الله فی العالمین ٧٤٣

Reverse—المستکفی بالله امر المومنین

Margir—صرب هذه الـ دولت اباد سہ اربع و اربعین وسعمایہ

¹ See also *Fræhn's Recensio*, p 177

No 216 Copper Weight 55 grs A H 742 743

Obverse—حلمه الله في شور

Reverse—المستكى بالله ٧٤٢

No 217 Copper A H 742

Obverse—الله الكى في شور

Reverse—والحلمه المستكى ٧٤٢

No 218 (pl m fig 110) Copper Weight, 128 grs
A H 748, 749, 750, 751

Obverse—الحاكم بامر الله به ٧٤٨

Reverse—ابو العباس احمد

No 219 Brass Weight, 55 grs Rare A H 748
Similar legends

Having completed the description of the coins of Muham mad bin Tughlak, I append a list of the prices of commodities at Dehh, towards the end of his reign, furnished to the author of the Masálik al Absár by his Egyptian informants —

Wheat	$1\frac{1}{2}$ hashtkani the man
Barley	1 " "
Common Rice	$1\frac{3}{4}$ " "
Peas (حمص) .	$\frac{1}{2}$ " "
Sugar	1 hashtkani for five sirs
Sugar Candy (السات)	1 " four "
Tat Sheep superior quality,	1 tankah or 8 hashtkani each
Oxen in good condition	2 tankahs each

Muhammad bin Tughlak does not seem to have concerned himself with inscriptions, hence the only mention of his name in such documents is to be found in the Hindi Inscription of Chunár (p. 195 *ante*), and an incidental record in Devanágari characters, on the third story of the Kutb Minár, designating him as *Muhammad Sultán*, with the annexed date of *Samrat* 1382 = 1325 A.D.¹ His public works at Dehli were confined to the erection of the detached Fort of 'A'dilábád, otherwise called *Muhammadábád*, at the south-east corner of Tughlakábád, with the *Satpalah*, or "seven-arched" dike, between Chirágh Dehli and Khirki and the complete fortification of the suburbs of Dehli, enclosing the space from the Kutb by Khirki, Chirágh Dehli, Shápúr, etc. (the "Cutub Lath, Kherhee, Chiragh Dilhee, and Shahpor," of the accompanying map), and forming an *enceinte* of five miles, pierced with thirteen gates in the curtains alone, and well known in history by the title of *Jahán-pandh*,² "asylum of the world."

BENGAL COINS.

I revert, for the last time, to the money of the Kings of Bengal. Iliás Sháh, the eighth of those who exercised the privilege of coining, either as Viceroys or temporarily independent Sovereigns, succeeded in emancipating himself from all interference on the part of the Sultáns of Dehli; so that from this period the kingdom of Bengal ceases to have either monetary or historical associations with the empire of the

¹ Cunningham, Arch. Report, 1862-3, p. 35.

² Ibn Batutah, iii 147; Timur-Bec M de la Croix, book iv cap xx, coins of Shír Sháh, *infra*; Syud Ahmad, pp 22, 31, Dehli Archaeological Society's Journal, 1853, map, p. 58, etc., Cunningham, 42; G. J. Campbell, J A S Bengal, 1866, p. 119, etc

VI ALA UD DYN ALI SHAH

'Alī Shāh, whom Muhammadan writers, by a strange jumble have endowed with the surname of his adversary Mubārak, and ordinarily refer to as "'Alī Mubārak'" assumed kingship on the death of Kadr Khān, Muhammad Tughlak's representative at Lakhnauti, entitling himself 'Alā ud-dīn. The more important incidents of his reign are confined to his hostilities with his rival, Fakhr ud dīn Mu barak of Sunārgaon, who possessed advantages in his maritime resources, while the rivers remained navigable for large vessels during the rainy season, but which were more than counterbalanced by 'Alī Shāh's power on land, which availed him for the greater part of the year, and which finally enabled him to establish his undisputed rule in the western provinces.

His coins exhibit dates ranging from 742 to 746 A H, and bear the impress of the new mint of the metropolis, Firuzābād, an evidence of a change in the royal residence, which clearly implies something more than a mere removal to a new site proximate to the old Lakhnauti, whose name is henceforth lost sight of, and may be taken to indicate a strategetic transfer of the Court to the safer and less exposed locality of the future capital, Pandua.¹ 'Alī Shah is stated to have been assassinated by his foster brother, Hājī Iliās.²

¹ Badāoni MS Ferishta, iv 329 Stewart, p 82 Aīn i Akbari ii 21

² Stewart, speaking of Firūz's advance against Iliās says 'The Emperor advanced to a place now called Ferozeporeābad where he pitched his camp and commenced the operations of the siege of Pandua (p 84) There is a *Mahāl* Firūzpūr in *Sarcar* Tandah noticed in the Aīn i Akbari ii p 2 See also the note from Shams i S rāj quoted below (page 268) under the notice of Iliās Shah's reign

³ Stewart's History of Bengal p 83

'Alā ud dīn 'Alī Shah

No 221 (pl vi fig 8) Silver Weight, 166.7 grs Rare
 Firuzabad, 742, 744, 745, 746 Type as usual

كدر الرومان	السلطان الاعظم
المجصوص	علاء الدين و الدين
عبات الرحمن ناصر	ابو المطر عرشاد
• امير المؤمنين	السلطان

Margin—

صرف حدالتة السكه في البلدة فروراد سنة اثني اربعين وسعمائة

VII IKHTIAR UD DIN GHAZI SHAH

At the period of this king's accession to the sovereignty of Sunargaon in A H 750 or 751, we lose the aid of our most trustworthy recorder of the annals of Bengal during his own time. The conclusion of Ibn Batutah's narrative leaves Fakhr ud dīn Mubārak still in power, while the native authorities are clearly at fault in their arrangement of dates and events, and altogether silent as to any change in the succession in Eastern Bengal, except in their allusions to the more than problematical capture of Fakhr ud dīn and his execution by "'Alī Mubārak" in 743 A H, with the final accession of Ilias "one year and five months afterwards"¹

The numismatic testimony would seem to show that Mubarak was succeeded by his own son, as the *Ul Sultan bin Ul Sultan* may be taken to imply. The immediately consecutive dates, and the absolute identity of the fabric of the coins, as well as the retention of the style of Right hand of

¹ Stewart's History of Bengal p 83

reveals no coin of either party dated 743, but in 744 the two again compete for ownership, which 'Alī Shāh for the time being continues through 745 into 746, when the annual series is taken up and carried on successively for an uninterrupted twelve years by his more favoured opponent. It is needless to speculate on the varying course of these individual triumphs, suffice it to say, that the increasing power of the ruler of Pandua, in 754, excited the Emperor Firūz III to proceed against him in all the pomp and following of an Oriental Suzerain, resulting only in the confession of weakness, conveniently attributed to the periodical flooding of the country¹—which effectually laid the foundation of the ult

¹ Stewart felt a difficulty about the right position of *Akdālāh* the real point of attack, and a place of considerable importance in the local history of Bengal. The following is Zifā Barmī's description of the place, taken from the concluding chapters of his history on the occasion of Firūz Shāh's (III) invasion of Bengal in 754 A.H. —

واکداله نام موضعی است بر دیک پتوده که یک طرف آن آب است و طرف دوم جنگل است در آن اکداله تحصن کرد و از پتوده مردم کار آمد در آن بیچه در اکداله برد

P 588 printed edit

Rennell gives another Akdallah north of Dacca. "Map of Hindoostan"

In the following passage Shams al Sirāj desires to make it appear that Firūz III gave his own name to the city of Pandua but, as we have seen that the designation was applied to the new capital either in 740 or 742—that is, long before Firūz became king of Dehli—it will be preferable to conclude that the name was originally bestowed in honour of the Shams-ud din Firūz of Bengal, No. II of the Bengal series (p. 193 *et seq.*) The quotation is otherwise of value as it establishes, beyond a doubt, the true position of the new metropolis —

(مرور شاد) در پتوده رسد در آن مقام خطه نام حسرت مرور شاد خواندند و نام شهر مرور آباد دادند چون سلطان مرور شاد اکداله را آزاد پور نام کرد و شهر پتوده را مرور آباد * * * (hence the) آزاد پور عرب اکداله و مرور آباد عرب پتوده

mate independence of Bengal,—a monarchy which was destined so to grow in power and material wealth as to be competent, indirectly, in the person of Shír Sháh, to recover for the old Muhammadan interest the cherished capitals of the north, and, temporarily, to eject from Hindustán the Mughals who too hastily boasted of an easily-achieved conquest of the country “from Bhíra to Bahár.”

Ilías Sháh's dates and mint cities may be summarized as follows :
 1. Fírúzábád, A.H. 740, 744, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758. 2. Sunárgáon, A.H. 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758.

TWENTIETH KING (A.H. 752-790 ; A.D. 1351-1388).

On the 24th of Muharram, A.H. 752, Fírúz bin Rajab presented himself before the retreating army of his cousin, in State parade, on an elephant, wearing the robes of Sovereignty over the funereal garments, which he insisted upon retaining in honour of his deceased relative; and his formal inauguration was completed by the subdued ceremony of his coronation by the surviving sister of Muhammad bin Tughlak, with the tiara of his two predecessors. His elevation to the throne was not, however, altogether unopposed, as Khwájah-i Jahán, the minister in charge of Dehli, crediting the reported death of Fírúz, had innocently set up a supposititious son of Muhammad bin Tughlak. Eventually, Khwájah-i Jahán met the Sultán, on his approach to the capital, with every confession of penitence, which Fírúz was only too ready to accept; but the

leading nobles insisting upon the necessity of punishment for so grave an offence, the unfortunate minister was sacrificed to political expediency.¹

Notably different from his energetic predecessor, Firuz seems to have been a very weak character, addicted to wine, devoted to the chase,² credulous, but amiable and merciful withal to an extent that, in less quiet times, might have proved disadvantageous,³—a man who would select a governor by a *fal* in the Kurán,⁴ and who, after having laboriously conducted his armies to the encounter, would withdraw them in the hour of victory from a desire to save the shedding of

¹ There is something pathetic in the story of his execution as told by Shams-i Siráj Afif. 'Khawajah i Jahán was more than eighty years old. His frame was wasted and feeble, and his hair was white. He was a kind hearted man. On his dismissal by the Sultán, he was led to suppose that he was to pass the remainder of his days in retirement at Samána, but on the way the messenger of death overtook him, and he readily divined his fate. "Next day he asked Shír Khán for some tents, into one of which he went, performed his ablutions and said his prayers, he then looked at his executioner, and asked if he had a sharp sword, and the executioner, who was a friend of the Khwájah's, showed his weapon. The old man then told him to make his ablutions, say his prayers, and use his sword. When the man had completed his devotions, the Khwájah bowed his head to his prayer carpet, and while the name of God was on his lips his friend severed his head from his body"—Elliot's *Historians*, III. 286

² "His special biographer sees nothing but virtue in Firúz's order that the district of Anwálah should be retained waste for hunting purposes, otherwise it would quickly have become peopled and cultivated under the prosperous and fostering government of Firúz (III. 353)

³ "In the whole of these forty years (of Firúz's reign) not one leaf of dominion was shaken in the palace of sovereignty" (III. 289)

⁴ "The Sultán never transacted any business without referring to the Kurán for an augury" (III. 329). Here is an instance of his superstition given under his own hand—"Under the guidance of the Almighty I arranged that the heirs of those persons who had been executed in the reign of my late lord and patron Sultan Muhammad Shah, and those who had been deprived of a limb, nose, eye, hand, or foot, should be reconciled to the late Sultán, and be made content with gifts, so that they executed deeds declaring their satisfaction, duly attested by witnesses. These deeds were put into a chest,

the blood of the Faithful.¹ His generalship in his two campaigns to Bengal, and his eventual reduction of Tattah, seems to have been of the lowest order; and the way that he allowed himself to be deluded into the deserts of Cutch,² or the defiles of Jájnagar, seems to savour of positive fatuity.³ His kindness of heart led him to introduce many measures for the amelioration of the condition of his subjects, which, though often of very doubtful expediency, were clearly well intentioned in their inception, and based upon a very complete knowledge of the condition of the country, of which he was not only a native,⁴ but, by the mother's side, of good

which was placed in the *Drau-I dman* at the head of the tomb of the late Sultán, in the hope that God, in his great clemency, would show mercy to my late friend and patron, and make those persons feel reconciled to him."—*Futúhát-i Firúz Sháh*, Elliot's *Historians*, III. p. 385, Briggs's *Ferishtah*, I. 464, Syud Ahmad's *Work*, p. 29, Jour. Asiatique, 1860, p. 401.

¹ "He sent a trusty man across the river with orders directing his forces to desist from battle and return to him"—Elliot's *Historians*, III. 332. So also p. 297.

² "The guides who led the way and conducted them had maliciously misled them into a place called the Rann of Cutch" (III. 324).

³ "For six months no news of the Sultán reached Dehli" (III. 315)

⁴ Those who would follow up the inquiry in more detail may be referred to Professor Dowson's exhaustive translation of *Shams-i Siráj 'Afif*, printed, in vol. III. of Elliot's *Historians*. The following are the leading items—

1. The system, condemned by the wiser 'Alá ud-din, of assignments of revenue in the form of *Jagirs* in lieu of direct payments (III. pp. 289, 329, 346).

2. Credit given for the value of *Auzrdna* presented at Court in the accounts of the feudatories (p. 340, also 357)

3. The assessment of 10 per cent. on the total outlay, or the cost price of the canals, as a rent-charge for the use of the irrigation water by the agriculturists (p. 301)

4. Separation of the private income of the Sultán from the State accounts (p. 302). See also p. 357.

5. The curious and only obscurely explained policy of collecting and employing organized bodies of slaves (p. 340)

6. Government gardens, and profits derived therefrom (p. 345)

Rājpūt blood;¹ while his *vizir* and confidential adviser was himself a well born Hindú of Tilingana,² whose son inherited his administrative functions in A H 772.³ The second *Khan* :

7 Firúz's determination to circumscribe his dominions, but to develop more fully their resources

8. Revenues of the kingdom incidentally detailed at 60 850,000 *tankas* or £6 085,000. The revenues of the Doáb (of the Ganges and Jumna) alone placed at 8 000,000 or £800 000 (p 346)

9 Amplification of the divisions of the coinage (p 357) See also p 277 *infra*

10 The cities, forts, palaces, *annicuts* (*bands*), mosques, tombs, and caravan serais (or *khankahs*) built by Firúz (p 354), also Ferishtah, i 465

11 Aid to the unemployed (p 355)

12 Marriage portions for the daughters of needy Muslims (p 361)

13 The institution of State hospitals for *all* classes, native or foreign (p 361)

14 (A H 777) Abolition of vexatious taxes of various kinds (p 363) *Total* loss to the State estimated at 3 000 000 *tankas*, or £300 000 (p 364) These cesses are more fully detailed under Firúz's own hand at p 377 from his *Futūhāt* : Firúz Shāh. See also Briggs's *Ferishtah*, i p 463

15 Poll tax levied on the Brahmins, who had hitherto been exempted. The full rate of the tax (the *Ji tak*) was 40 *tankas*, 20 *tankas*, and 10 *tankas* according to the several classes but the Sultān reduced the demand on the Brahmins to one *fifty kān* piece, or *'ada* for every 10 *tankas* (p 366, and original MSS)

¹ She was the daughter of *Rāna* Mall Bhatti, whose estates near Abūhar were subject to Daibālpūr, Ghāzī beg Tughlak's special command.—Elliot's *Historians*, iii. 272

² When Sultan Muhammad sent the Rai of Tilingana to Dehli *Kattā* accompanied him. On the death of the Rai, *Kattā* made the profession of the Muslim faith, and was entitled *Malik*. "Although he had no knowledge of reading or writing he was a man of great common sense, acumen, and intelligence (iii. 357).

³ "When Khān-i Jahān held the fief of Multān, he had a son born to him. He wrote to acquaint Sultān Muhammad [Tughlak] Shāh of the fact, and that monarch directed that the child should be named Jūnān Shāh. This was the person who was afterwards known as Khān-i Jahān, son of Khān-i Jahān.

Jahán seems to have served his king faithfully for many years, till Fírúz's failing powers suggested a possible succession to the throne in his own person, which was, however, defeated by the Prince Muhammad Khán, who was thereupon associated in the government, in all form, as joint king and heir apparent. This arrangement was of brief effect, for the son was obliged to flee from the metropolis; and the father having, for the moment, again resumed his functions as sole Sultán, speedily relinquished all power to his grandson, the son of Fath Khán, who finally succeeded to the throne on the death of Fírúz, in Ramazán, 790 AH.

The reign of this monarch, though presenting few political incidents, is justly celebrated in the traditions of the land for the number and magnificence of the public works executed under his auspices. Ferishtah specifies no less than 845 undertakings of various kinds that the country owed to the constructive tastes of Fírúz Sháh.¹ The Sultán himself, in the autobiographical record he has left behind him, is more modest in his totals, but he clearly excludes the mention of many works of which we have palpable knowledge, and

789) The son has left a record of his coming to office, in 772 A H, on the walls of the black Mosque, near the tomb of Nizám-ud-din Aulá, where he styles himself the *خانبهان بن خانبهان* . . . راده .—Syud Ahmad's Work, pp 32 31 *ib*, facsimile Inscription, No. 10 (10), Jour Asiatique, 1860, p 409 There is another inscription of Khán-i Jahán's on the Kalán Masjid, dated in AH 789, in which he describes himself as

بداد زاده درگاه جونا نشه مقبول المحاط خانبهان ابن خانبهان
—Syud Ahmad's Facsimile, No 11 (11), p 32 A full description of this Mosque, which is situated within the modern walls of Dehli, near the Túrkomán Gate (No 5 Map), is to be found in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1847), p 577, the joint contribution of Capt H Lewis and Mr Cope. The article is largely illustrated with plans and elevations, and furnishes a transcript of the inscription at full length.

¹ Briggs, i 465.

which bear his name in the language of the people even at the present day. One of the most curious deficiencies a modern mind detects in the long list of buildings, canals, dams, bridges, and other works enumerated by him, is the total omission of even the name of a road, India's greatest want, and the deficiency of which facilitated the transit the Sultán had so signally experienced while personally in command of retiring armies. His canals, his best and most enduring gift, were confessedly prompted not by any kindly desire to aid and succour his subjects, but to make existence possible in the new towns his early Bhatti predilections induced him to found in the deserts of Hansi, and the commercial element in these beneficencies crops up amusingly when he seeks for ecclesiastical sanction for his share of ten per cent on the outlay.

These undertakings will be referred to more fully, and recapitulated in his own words in connexion with the notice of his inscriptions, which follows the enumeration of his coins.

No 223 Gold Weight, 167 grs (B M)

Obverse—وائى سائد بردانى مرور شاه سلطانى

Reverse—

صرب هذه السكة فى زمان الامام ابو العباس احمد خلعت ملكه

No 224 (pl iv fig 113) Gold Weight, 170 grs (B M)

السلطان الاعظم	فى زمان الامام
سيف امير المومنين	امير المومنين ابو الفتح
ابوالمظفر مرور شاه	خلعت خلعت
السلطانى خلعت ملكه	

Margin—صرب هذه السكة حجر * * * بن و مسعمايه

Mr Freeling possessed a dated piece of this class of 757 A H

No 225 Weight, 168 grs Col Guthrie

Obverse—لأل الاعظم سبأ أمر المومس أبو المظفر مرور شاد
لأل حلد ملكه

Reverse—ت هذه السكة في رس الإمام أمير المومس أبي الفتح
حد بالله حلد حلامه

No 226 Gold Weight, 170 grs Unique Gen T P Sm

Obverse—لأل الاعظم سبأ أمر المومس أبو المظفر مرور شاد
لأل حلد ملكه

Reverse { Area, حد بالله حلد حلامه
Margin, * * حد

No 227 Gold Weight, 167 grs Small coin A II 788 (I

Obverse—مرور شاد سلاني

Reverse—٧٨٨ نايب أمر المومس

No 228 (pl iv fig 115) Silver and Copper Weight, 141

(Average weight of six selected specimens, 139.5 grs)

Dates observed A II 759, 761, 762, 765, 766, 767, 768 769
771, 772 773 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781,
783, 784, 785, 787, 788, 789, 790

Obverse—مرور شاد سلاني صربت محصرت دحلي

Reverse—الجمعه أمر المومس حلد حلامه ٧٧٣

No 229 Silver and Copper Weight, 54 grs

Obverse—مرور شاد سلاني حلد ملكه

Reverse—الجمعه أبو الفتح حلدت حلامه

No 230 Silver and Copper Weight, 140 grs A H 784, 785

Obverse as No 228

Reverse—الخليفة ابو عبد الله خلعت حلاته ٧٨٤

No 231 Silver and Copper Weight, 34 8 grs

Obverse—مروزر سلطاني

Reverse—بحسرت دهلې

No 232 Silver and Copper Weight, 17·4 and 17 8 grs.

Very rare

Obverse—مروزر شاد

Reverse—دهلې



No 233. Copper Weight, 68 grs

Obverse—مروزر شاد سلطاني

Reverse—دار الملك دهلې

No 234 Copper. Weight, 36 grs

Obverse—مروزر سلطاني

Reverse—بحسرت دهلې

No 235 (pl iv. fig 121) Copper Weight, 55 grs

Obverse—مروزر شاد سلطاني

Reverse—ابو العباس احمد

No 236 Silver and Copper. Weight, 84 grs Very rare

Obverse—مروزر سلطاني

Reverse—خلعت ابو النعم

No 237 Copper Thick coin, much defaced. Weight, 106 grs
Unique

Obverse { Area—مرور شاد
Margin—Illegible

Reverse—انور عبد الله خلعت خلعت

POSTHUMOUS COINS OF FIRUZ

No 238 Coins similar in types and legends to No 228, bear respectively the dates A. H. 791, 799, 801, 804, 816, 817, 820, 824, 825, 828, 830

No 239 Copper Average weight, 68 grs A. H. 799, 800

Obverse—مرور شاد سلطانى

Reverse—دار الملك دہلی ۷۹۹

Frequent reference has been made during the course of these numismatic inquiries to the system, traditional in India, of combining silver and copper in varied proportions for the purpose of providing for the gradational sub-divisions of the *silver tanlah*. We now reach a period when the practical application of this indigenous theory was greatly extended and elaborated in its subordinate details, and simultaneously we obtain, for the first time, official recognition of the process employed in the Mint, together with a full enumeration of the various pieces deemed necessary for the monetary rates and exchanges of the shopkeeper and the ordinary bazar purchases of the people at large.

Shams i Siraj 'Afif, the special biographer of Firúz Sháh, gives the following account of the improvements introduced into the circulating media of the country during his patron's reign. Following out the principle I have laid down for myself elsewhere, I reproduce the *ipsissima verba* of the

We gather from this passage that Fírúz continued to issue *gold tankahs* at the old 175 grain weight, to which, indeed, his extant coins bear testimony; but we miss any examples of the 200 grain gold pieces introduced by his predecessor. It is not, however, so clear as to what the weight of the *silver tankah* here alluded to was estimated at. Critically following the meaning of the term *tankah*, it should have corresponded with the measure of the parallel gold piece and that of the ancient silver *tankah* of 175 grains; but we meet with no silver coin of this amount, though there are numerous examples of coins weighing 140 grains, some of the less alloyed specimens of which may answer to the full '*adali*'; but, as has been already remarked (pp. 219, 237), the issue of *tankahs* and '*adalis*' seems to have been rather kept in abeyance, the abundance of gold coin now in circulation having relieved the silver currency of much of its early responsibility, so that the mint operations were chiefly devoted to securing a full supply of the groats and other alternative fractions of the Indian system. The gradational sub-divisions in the new coins provided by Fírúz are clearly designed to meet the fractional parts of the new 140 grain coin, while the sixty-fours of the old system are fully kept in view, both for the sake of the fundamental *lání* estimate in itself, as well as to secure the correspondence with the old 175 grain silver *tankahs*, which must still have constituted a large proportion of the local currency, notwithstanding that Muhammad bin Tughlak's momentary effort to restore the old weight may have been unsustained: in so much so, that we find the ancient *tankah* fully re-established in the reign of Mubárak Sháh II.¹ (A.H. 835); and Tímúr had already testified that

¹ These coins gave us the nearest approach to the *estimated* 175 grains of the normal *tankah* hitherto observed, rising up to a still preserved weight of 174 grains, and the silver money of Muhammad bin Farid completes the evidence in an existing weight of 175 grains

the bulk of the coin found in the royal treasury at Dehli, on its capture in 801 A H, consisted of the old *tankahs* of 'Alá ud dín Khiljí

Under this dual system, fractional pieces are seen to have been ranged in the following order —

- a $\frac{3}{8}$ ths of 175 gruns of silver (i.e. $131\frac{1}{4}$ grains) or 48 *kanis*, that is $\frac{3}{4}$ ths or $\frac{1}{4}$ ths of the old *tankah*
- b $\frac{1}{2}$ ths of 140 grains of slightly alloyed silver¹ (the *misfi*) or $\frac{1}{2}$ of the *adali*
- c $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of 175 grains, or $\frac{3}{4}$ ths or $\frac{1}{6}$ ths of the old *tankah*
- d² $\frac{1}{4}$ ths of 175 grains, or $\frac{1}{6}$ ths of the old *tankah*
- e $\frac{1}{8}$ ths of 140 grains or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the *'adali*

Added to these were the old *hasht lanis*, *do-lanis*, and *ek lanis*, of which coins we have absolute examples among Muhammad bin Tughlak's issues, while the *shashkanis*, for which credit is especially claimed, as a novelty, originated by Firuz, seem to have been already in existence in the form of coined money, otherwise it is difficult to understand how the African travellers should so constantly refer to them in their estimates of prices. Very possibly the laudations of the biographer only refer to the introduction of a larger and more systematic supply of these pieces, effected when Firuz revised the general scheme of the then current coinage. Two of this monarch's minor triumphs may well be conceded to him—the institution of half and quarter *itals*. These fractions could already be met by payments in simple copper, as the 4 *fals* in that metal sufficiently supplied the needful change under the old system. But Firuz's aim seems to have been to produce these small pieces in mixed copper and silver for the sake of the

more portable form the composite alloy would secure. And this, it must be confessed, is the grand merit of the entire scheme of a coinage of mixed metals; it did for a race who rigorously exacted full metallic values what a token currency in the subordinate metals does for the European civilization of this day; and in these very minute subdivisions, it provided, moreover, a tangible piece of money in the place of a star or flake of silver,¹ which a breath of wind would blow away, equally as it avoided the inconvenient weight incident to the lower value of pure copper. These new pieces were severally denominated 'adha ادھ "half" and *bilh* بیلہ (probably the appropriate vernacular *bihik* بییک "alms," ὀβολός). The latter coin may be identified with No. 232, which is the very smallest *bit* contributed by any available specimen of Firúz's money.

I took the opportunity, during my last visit to Dohli, of having a number of Firúz Sháh's coins assayed by the ordinary native process of blowing-off the copper with lead, a process which, when carefully conducted, affords a reasonably sufficient test,² which in other cases was confirmed by more

¹ The *Adni* or *jital*, supposing it to have been minted in unmixed silver, would have required 2 73137 grains of that metal, so that the quarter *jital* would have weighed only 68308 grains, or less than 7-10ths of a grain troy. Those who are in the habit of using decimals of grains in more exact experiments will understand what this means.

² It must always be borne in mind that this was precisely *the* ultimate assay test within the reach of the authorities of the day, of which we have an amusing episode in the deterioration of these identical *shashilanis*, effected by a false Mint master, one "Kajar Sháh," who, in 772 A H, ventured to put forth these coins at a depreciation of one grain of silver in the 164 odd grains of silver, less the copper alloy, by law required. Certain informers having reported this fact to the Vazir, a trial of the *pix* was instituted before the Sultán himself, aided by all the outward formalities of stripping the immediate operators, but insidiously allowing the ascertained deficiency of silver to be introduced into selected bits of charcoal, which, when thrown into the cupel, restored the legitimate balance,—a result

formal analysis, according to the European method. On this occasion of personal superintendence of the assay itself, I satisfied myself of the extraordinary aptitude of the local experts in judging of intrinsic contents by exacting a preliminary declaration on their part of the amount of silver each individual coin might be expected to yield. In certain cases of old and dirty pieces, recourse was had to a clearing of the surface by rubbing, when the glint of the silver soon indicated its proportion in the general total, but usually the feel between the thumb and the sensitive fingers of the professional assayer enabled him to pronounce a strikingly near approach to the weight of silver the operating goldsmith produced in the final button of silver. The following is the result of these different assays of various specimens of coin No 228 —

No	1	S C	Wt	141 grs	A H	765	Result, 12 grs	silver
"	2	"	"	131 5 grs	"	767	" 23 "	"
"	3	"	"	132 2 "	"	771	" 18 "	"
"	4	"	"	140 grs	"	781	" 24 "	"
"	5	"	"	140 "	"	788	" 17 "	"
"	6	"	"	140 "	"	788	" 18 "	"
"	7	"	"	132 "	(No date)		" 19 "	"

It will be seen that in these returns of pure silver we have optional examples of at least three several degrees of value—the minor variations may fairly be attributed to the want of homogeneity in the mixture of the metals, and which would probably be rectified by taking an average of a larger number of specimens. In each case, it must be remembered, allowance has to be made for the value of the copper, amounting

in many instances to over 120 grains, which proportionately reduces the total of pure silver required to complete the intrinsic value of each denominational piece. Nos 2 and 4 may, under these limitations, stand for 10 *kanis* pieces; Nos 3, 5, and 6, for irregular examples of a *hashtkanis*; and No 1 for a *shashkanis*; but these identifications are purely speculative, and encumbered with many elements of discord in the minor details, so that, in testing authoritative values for any purposes of comparison of prices, it will be far better to rely upon the clearly ascertained fractional divisions of the *tankah* of 175 grains of fine silver, the declared equivalent of 64 *kanis*.

PRICES OF GRAIN DURING FIRUZ SHAH'S REIGN.¹

1	Wheat	کدم	per man	.. 8 <i>jitals</i>
2	Barley	جو	"	.. 4 "
3	Gram (<i>Cicer arietinum</i>)	نخود	"	.. 4 "
4	Coarsely ground grain for horses, دلیده 10 <i>sirs</i>			.. 1 <i>jital</i>
5	Ghi	روغن ستور	per sir	.. 2½ "
6	Sugar	شکرتری	"	.. 3 to 3½ <i>jitals</i>

Q Inscription of Firuz on the 5th story of the Kutb Minār,
dated A H 770²

درین مبارک سه سعین و سعمایه نام برق حلال راد یافته بود
توفیق ربانی برکشیده عنایت سحابی سرور سلطانی این مقام را
باحتیاط تمام عمارت کرد حائق بیچون این مقام را از جمیع
امانت مصون داران

¹ Shams i Surāj 'Afif. The returns Nos 5 and 6 are derived from a marginal addition in the Marquis of Hastings's MS.

² The Persian texts give دلیده, the *local* word is دله or دلیا, दिदल (from दल) "half ground, "split peas." The native term extends to all sorts of horse mashes, which the people of India have great faith in.

³ See Ewer's *Inscriptions As Res* xiv 488, and Syud Ahmad's facsimile, 26.

This inscription has an important bearing upon the history of the Minaret itself, though it merely tells us that Fîrûz repaired the damage caused by lightning; but taken in connexion with the Sultán's own words, in his autobiography, we gather a distinct affirmation that the Minaret was commenced under the auspices of Mu'izz-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sâm, which fully bears out the suggestive reading of the name of Kutb-ud-dín *Sipahsalar* (adverted to at page 23 *suprà*), as still legible upon the bands of the lower story. The Sultán's expressions, at the same time, dispose of a very ingenious theory lately propounded by a Civil Engineer, that Fîrûz himself actually *built* the two upper stories of the Minár;¹ that he raised its height is

¹ "As regards the age of the various portions [of the Kutb Minár] as they now stand, the most superficial examination will show that the three lower stories, whilst they are identical in style and construction with the work of Altamsh, differ completely in both particulars from the two uppermost ones. In the former, except the outer casing, which is of sandstone (no marble being used anywhere), the walls are of cut granite, so too are the central pillar and the steps, which latter are not plain lintel blocks, but are carried upon corbels projecting from the walls. All the doorways and openings have Hindú horizontal arches, the sandstone is old and discoloured, and the ornamentation dates from Altamsh and Kutb-ud-dín's time. In the two upper stories all is changed, the walls, steps, and central pillar are of bright red sandstone, while marble being introduced into the outer face, the steps have no corbels, the arches have true voussours, and the ornamentation is identical with what we find prevalent in the latter half of the 14th century. We are thus warranted in assuming that these two stories were *newly designed* and built by Fîrûz Shâh in A.D. 1368. General Cunningham agrees as far as the fifth story is concerned, but thinks the fourth is original, as the inscription over the doorway dates from the reign of Altamsh. But this doorway is exactly similar to the one above, it is built of similar stone, is of a similar shape, and, like it, has true voussours, it is clear, therefore, that the old tablet of Altamsh had been ^{simply} ~~the~~ ^{inserted} ~~put~~ into the new work of Fîrûz Shâh."—Notes on the

incontestable, but the tenor of his words would 'certainly

item of evidence as that quoted by Zîá ud-dîn Khán of Loháru in the first instance (Dehli Arch Journal, 1852, p 29), and prominently noticed by Gen. Cunningham (Arch Report, p 32), that the celebrated geographer, Abûl Fida, had, some time before his death, in 732 A H, or necessarily twenty years prior to the accession of Firúz, put upon record that the *Ma'maná* of the Jám-i Masjid at Dehli counted 360 steps in its circular ascending staircase. Now, considering that the utmost limit this monument is ever known to have reached under all subsequent additions is 379 steps, it would be impossible, under such conditions, to concede to Firúz Sháh the construction of two complete stories, and very lofty stories, as they fall in the general proportion to the total height, even if the very moderate increase he claims to have achieved did not otherwise determine the question. In a similar spirit of eccentric originality and needless antagonism to General Cunningham, Mr Campbell goes on to enunciate one of the most singular propositions ever put forward by an archæologist, to the effect that "the citadel" of Rai Pithora's fort, "when rebuilt by 'Ala-ud din, received the name of *Siri*" (p 214), and again, "Kutb citadel . . . rebuilt by 'Ala ud din, A D 1304, and renamed by him *Siri*" (p 216). In his attempt to support this novel theory, the late Executive Engineer of Dehli entirely disregards the important testimony of Ibn Batutah, that the "Dar ul Khiláfat *Siri* was a totally separate and detached town, situated at such a distance from Old Dehli as to necessitate the construction of the walls of *Jahán Panáh* to bring them within a defensive circle, and that the *Hau-i-Khâz* intervened, in an indirect line, between the two localities" (in pp 146, 155). Mr Campbell's interpretation of the evidence of the Zafar Námah is equally imperfect. What can be more distinct than the details given at the time of the publication of Messrs Cope and Lewis's plan, to which he refers for the refutation of Gen. Cunningham's position, than the statement (at p 24 of the self same number of the Dehli Archæological Journal), that "*Siri* was circular, and surrounded on all sides by a wall (a similar wall surrounded Old Dehli), and from 'that wall of *Siri* to that wall of Old Dehli . . . there are built walls on both sides, the space between which is called *Jahán Panáh*." If anything were wanting to confute the whole ratiocination, Mr Campbell's own arguments would complete the case against him. Not only is he obliged under the terms of his own reasoning to invent an imaginary *Siri* in the suburbs of his "New Dehli of the 15th century," (extending from Indrapat to Khizrabad on the banks of the Jumna), and affirmed by him to have been called "*Siri* by Sharif-ud-din, but the very passage he cites with so much emphasis from a choice copy of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, is positively and emphatically condemnatory of his own fallacy. What can possibly be more definite than the statement of Abûl Fazl, that

سلطان علاء الدین شہزاد دیگر بساد بہاد قلعه نو برپا ساخت آبرا سری کوید
 "Saltán 'Ala ud din built another city (and) a new fort, which they call *Siri*"?

not extend to a claim to two stories of the whole edifice¹

R Inscription in Chiragh Dehli, dated A H 775²

بسم الله تسماندکرة عمارة این کسند مسمون در عهد مسمون الوائى
نائبه الرحمان ابوالمظفر ضرور شاه السلطان حلد الله ملكه سال
بر هفتصد هفتاد پنج ار تارمچ هجرت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم

S Inscription of Fīrūz Shāh at Benares, from an impression on paper taken by Gen A Cunningham, dated A H 779 = A D 1375

The Inscription is engraved on one of the stone roof beams of the edifice on the western bank of the Bakariyā Kund

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

ارغون و عبادت ربانى و نائبه فصل بردانى مسجد و گسند دهليرو
حجرة و بردنان حوص و محفوظه مقام متبركه سد فخر الدس شهيد علوى
طاب الله ثراه و جعل الجنة مثواه بعد سلطان الاعظم الوائى نائبه

و مساره سلطان معزالدس سام را كه ار حاجته برق افتاده بود بفرار
انكه بود ار ارتفاع قديمى بلند تر مرتب كرده شد

—MS Futūḥāt-i Fīrūz Shāhi

I see that Shams i Sirāj Afīf erroneously attributes the Kutb Minār to Alṭamsh

—Elliot & Historians iii 353

¹ Chiragh Dehli occupies a prominent position in the illustrative plan of the environs of Dehli near Shāhpūr and Khirki. The shrine seems to have been originally erected in 775 A.H. by Fīrūz Shāh, within the enceinte of Jahān panāh.

—Syud Ahmad, pp 36, and facsimile, No 21, p 31 ib., Journal Asiatique, 1860, p 410

الرحمن أبو المظفر فيروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه عمارت بنده
 مسكين ضياء احمد كرد حق تعالى بنده مسكين خود را عاقبت
 بخير گرداند بحق محمد و الله اجمعين في العشرة من شهر ربيع
 الاول سنة تسع وسبعين وسبعماية

I have selected the above inscription, in preference to any further citations of Fírúz Sháh's proper epigraphs, for several reasons—it is new and virtually unpublished,¹ it affords a fresh example of the avowed Muslim policy of appropriating Idol temples, for which Benares offered an unusually ample field.

The inscription records, in curious concert with the mixed style of the various buildings referred to, that one Zíá Ahmad, a true believer, by the aid and grace of God, "built or repaired the mosque, with the dome over the vestibule, or outer entrance porch, the reception chamber,² the steps of the reservoir or tank, and the encircling wall of the shrine of Syud Fakhr-ud-dín, the descendant of 'Alí, in A.H. 777." Most of these edifices had been elaborately traced and described by Messrs. Horne and Sherring prior to the discovery of the inscription. The following passages from their joint article in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1865), p. 1, will put the reader in possession of a general view of the locality and the more material constructive details of the

¹ I exhibited General Cunningham's paper impressions, with some brief remarks, at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, on the 4th of July, 1870.

² Syud Ahmad informs me that the technical meaning attaching to *حجرة* in India, is a small chamber subordinate to the Mosque, in which the servitor of the shrine lives, and in which pilgrims and others occasionally find a refuge.

O

buildings The inscription itself is cut upon one of the stone beams of the flat roofed structure upon the western bank of the reservoir, which is thus noticed —

“Ascending the terrace, you come to the building itself The beams and slabs constituting the roof are in some cases 9 feet in length, and the roof is supported by three rows of immensely thick stone columns, the capitals of which are in the form of a cross The cornice decorating the walls is not of modern narrowness, but is 12 inches deep, and is ornamented with carvings of various elegant devices The outer wall on the western side is strengthened by a huge buttress of stone 14 feet wide and 15 feet high ”

“To the south of the tank is a *ghaut*, the stones of which are scattered about in great disorder, so that, looking at it from a distance, it has the appearance of an utter ruin And such it really is But it is nevertheless a comparatively modern structure, for the stones of which it is composed, judging from the elaborate and finished carvings on many of them, have been contributions from fallen edifices in the neighbourhood

“At the south west corner of the tank . overhanging the Kund, is a huge breastwork of stone, on the top of which is a spacious court-yard and a Muhammadan Dargah, or place of prayer

“To the east of the Dargah is a small mosque, 37 feet long by 19½ feet broad, open to the east, and supported by three rows of pillars, five in each row The pillars in the second row have deep scroll carvings on their sides with ornamental corners, consisting of Lotus seed pods one on another ”

“ Some parts of this building are certainly original, and there can be no doubt of the antiquity of the pillars which belonged to some Buddhist [Hindu] cloister, or of the fact of the modern character of the inclosing wall

“A few steps off is an inclosure in the form of an irregular parallelogram a wall being on either side and two small Buddhist [Hindu] buildings at its extremities That situated at the northern extremity is in some respects like the mosque just described Its carvings, however, are not all the same, and its ornamental band is of a very ancient type There is a small building used as a Ranza

attached to its north west angle and sustained by ancient pillars and modern walls. The building is surmounted by a low cupola of primitive construction. It is not unlikely that originally there were cloisters on this bank of the Kund, and that the three small buildings just described were all at one time connected together.

If we could determine with any certainty when the Indo-Arabian Saint entitled Fakr ud dīn 'Alauī flourished,¹ we could, perhaps, better estimate and more definitely check the extent of the original or secondary work performed by the pious Muhammadan of Benares of the second half of the seventh century of the Hijrah.

FIRUZ SHAH'S PUBLIC WORKS

Firuz Shāh's too modest enumeration of his own good works, as recorded in his autobiography,² is reproduced in

¹ Syud Ahmad speaks of a Fakhr ud-dīn Shāh in his notice of Chiragh Dehli, but he gives no intimation of the epoch at which he flourished (p. 33) *Journal Asiatique* 1860 p. 410.

Firuz Shāh tells us that the text of this brief chronicle, entitled *موجات مرور شاه*, was engraved on the octagonal dome of the Jami Mosque at Firuzābād.

و در مسجد جامع مروراناد با ساد و مشتم است بر هشت طری
آن کسده مضمون این کتاب را هشت باب حال کرده فروده است
See also Briggs's *Ferahtah* : 467. Syud Ahmad's *Work* p. 34 under مسجد
جامع مروراناد, and *J.R.A.S.* iv N.S. 446.

The *Futūbāt* : Firuz Shāh opens with the following words couched in the first person singular —

من بنکاره مسکن مروران رحب سلام محمد شاه بن علی شاه

the motives which led his patron to commence some of his exceptional undertakings Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad's totals, on the other hand, though not so obviously exaggerated as Ferishtah's, are clearly fanciful, especially in the number of *eren* hundreds they display.

Tomb of Sultán 'Alá-ud dín I repaired this, and furnished it with sandal-wood doors I repaired the wall of the *abdar-khánah*, and the west wall of the mosque, which is within the college, and I also made good the tessellated pavement (*farsh i ta'shib*)

Tomb of Sultán Kutb-ud-dín and the (other) sons of Sultán 'Alá-ud dín, viz, Khizr Khán, Sháhi Khán, Farid Khán, Sultán Shaháb-ud-dín, Sikandar Khán, Muhammad Khán, 'Usmán Khán, and his grandsons, and the sons of his grandsons The tombs of these I repaired and renovated.

I also repaired the doors of the dome, and the lattice work of the tomb of Shaikh-ul Islám Nizám ul hakk wa-ud-dín, which were made of sandal-wood I hung up the golden chandeliers with chains of gold in the four recesses of the dome, and I built a meeting room, for before this there was none

Tomb of Malik Táj ul Mulk Káfuri, the great *war* of Sultán 'Alá ud dín He was a most wise and intelligent minister, and acquired many countries, on which the horses of former sovereigns had never placed their hoofs, and caused the *khutba* of Sultán 'Alá ud dín to be repeated there He had 52,000 horsemen His grave had been levelled with the ground, and his tomb laid low I caused his tomb to be entirely renewed, for he was a devoted and faithful subject

The *Daru-l áman*, or 'house of rest' This is the bed and resting place of great men I had new sandal-wood doors made for it, and over the tombs of these distinguished men I had curtains and hangings suspended

The expense of repairing and renewing these tombs and colleges was provided from their ancient endowments

Jahan-pánah This foundation of the late Sultán Muhammad Sháh, my kind patron, by whose bounty I was reared and educated, I restored

All the fortifications which had been built by former Sovereigns at Dehli I repaired

I was enabled by God's help to build a *Daru sh shifá*, or 'hospital,' for the benefit of every one, of high or low degree, who was suddenly attacked by illness and overcome by suffering Physicians attend there to ascertain the disease, to attend to the cure, to regulate the diet, and to administer medicine The cost of the medicines and the food is defrayed from my endowments All sick persons, residents and travellers gentle and simple, bond and free, resort thither, their maladies are treated, and under God's blessing, they are cured"—Futúhát i Firúz Sháhi, translated in Elliot's *Historians*, iii 382

Among the many works of direct utility or more enduring fame, there are three of Fīrūz Shāh's exploits which claim especial notice in this place—two of them as intimately associated with the history of the capital, and the third as having given an impetus to the development of the resources of the land which we participate in to this day. The first of these operations was the removal of the Court to the new city of Fīrūzābād, whose outline may be roughly traced on the illustrative plan as extending from Indrapat ("Indiput Fort") along the Jumna by Fīrūz Shah's Lāt ("Feroze Shaw Pul Lath"), up to the Kúshk Shikār ("Shah Fukeer Lath"), covering a distance of more than six miles, and embracing the lands of eighteen separate townships¹. The second enterprise, which possesses considerable antiquarian interest, was the removal of the two Monoliths or *Lāts* of Aśoka from their normal sites near Khizrābād and Meerut respectively, and their erection, the one in the *Kushk* of Fīrūzābād and the other in the *Kúshk-i Shikār*.² Both these monuments are inscribed with letters of the earliest-known archaic Pali characters, embodying the Edicts of King Asoka, the ardent propagator of Buddhism, promulgated by him in the 27th year of his reign (about 230 B.C.). The Khizrābād pillar also bears on its surface a later inscription of Vīśalā-deva, *Vigraha Raja*, dated in Samvat 1220 (A.D. 1164).³ On the arrival of these columns at Dehli, Indian

¹ Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif, *Elliot's Historians*, III. 303

² Prinsep's *Essays*, I. 324, *Journal Arch. Soc. Dehli* (1849), p. 29

³ Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, VIII. 130, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1864, p. XXXI, Prinsep's *Essays*, I. 325. There is an engraving of Fīrūz Shāh's Koṭila, with the column standing in the centre, copied from a drawing made in 1797, published in the seventh volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, p. 180. See also vol. I. p. 379.

"The golden pillar is a single shaft of pale pinkish sandstone, 42 feet 7 inches

Pandits were summoned from far and near to decipher and explain the ancient writings on their surfaces, but they, one and all, failed to detect any trace of the symbols of their own every-day writing in the prototype of sixteen centuries anterior use,¹ and it remained for that most prominent of our Indian archaeologists, James Prinsep, to rescue from oblivion the sacred alphabet of the Buddhists, to interpret the tenor of their then germinating professions of faith, and to reconstruct the progressive alphabets of India, whose modern derivatives are found to spread in so many varied forms over the entire continent of India, and to have penetrated into proximate lands, where the modern representatives of learning would assuredly deny their exotic origin.

Though the untutored eye may at first fail to recognize these identities, amid the conflicting agencies of crudities of vernacular definition, complications demanded by alien speech, and divergencies incident to materials and methods of writing, there can be no possible doubt but that, whether chiselled on stone, graven on metal, impressed upon clay, written with ink on primitive birch bark or more refined paper, or, as a final test, pierced with the iron style on

in length, of which the upper portion, 35 feet in length, has received a very high polish, while the remainder is left quite rough. Its upper diameter is 25 3 inches, and its lower diameter 38 8 inches "

The second of Asoka's Delhi pillars is now lying in five pieces near Hindd Rao's house, on the top of the hill to the N W of Sháhjahánábád. The whole length of these pieces was 32½ feet—upper diameter, 29½ inches, lower diameter 33 4 —Gen Cunningham, Arch. Report, 1862, pp 17, 19

A somewhat similar Monolith was erected by Firúz in the Fort of Hussár — Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, 1838, p 429

¹ It is easy to understand the difficulty these unimaginative interpreters may have felt with the old Lát alphabet, but they must have been more than ordinarily obtuse or intentionally reticent if they failed to read the inscription of Visala Deva, the characters of which are but little removed from the more recent varieties then current in the land.

Southern palm leaves, the entire range of existing characters now in use from Sind to Annam, however seemingly discordant, must all confess to the common parentage of some given form of the alphabet of the Pre Aryan indigènes, the earliest extant example of which, in its lapidary or rock inscription form, dates at the very lowest estimate in 250 B.C.¹

The most important feat of Firuz Sháh's reign was, however, the construction of a double system of canals to supply his new city of Hissár Firuzah, the head waters of which were drawn both from the Jumna and Sutlege, the former branch, but little modified, still supplies our British subjects in the nineteenth century along the full 200 miles of its ancient banks. The Sutlege section, which is stated to have joined the main line at Karnál, can still be indicated from Rápar to Sirhind.² The old line of the Jumna branch was carefully traced by Col Colvin in 1833,³ and may be followed on the modern maps from Bádsháh Mahal at the débouchement of the river from the outer range of the Himalaya, by Chicholi and Búrgh to Karnal,⁴ through the cut-

¹ J R A S 1, N S, p 466

² 'Lane of levels between the Jumna and Satlage Rivers — Lieut Baker, Jour As Soc Bengal, 1840 p 688

³ Jour As Soc Bengal, 1833 p 105

۱ یک حوی ارب آب حوں کشده و حوی دوم اردھانہ لب آب
ستلج آورده ارب آب حوں حاصہ رحراء [رحواد var] و حوی
العمابی [العبابی] دھانہ این ہردو حوی ار اتصال کربال سرون
آورده مہاں ہشتاد کروڑ کردہ در شہر حصار ممرورہ بردہ

—Shams : Siraj Afif MS

We have a curious antiquarian document connected with the history of Firuz

ting below Uncha Samána, into the eastern branch of the Chitang river,¹ near Sufidún, and thence through the old bed of the Chitang to Hánsi and Hissár. The introduction of the water of this canal into the city of Dehli, which is noted (partly in pencil) on the plan of Col Mackenzie as the "ancient canal of Fíroz Sháh," dates in reality only from the time of 'Alí Murdan Khán, early in the 17th century.

Sháh's canals in the form of an official *Sanad* or grant of the Emperor Akbar, dated A H 978, the opening of which specifies "the Chitang Naddi by which Fíruz Sháh Bádsháh 210 years ago brought water from the *ndlas* and drains in the vicinity of Sádhaurah, at the foot of the hills to Hánsi and Hissár. —Col Yule, *Jour As Soc Bengal*, 1846 p 214. Col Yule adds in a note, 'Sádhaurah is a town in the Ambáláh district, about twenty miles west of the Jumna. The river flowing past Sádhaurah is the Markanda, but the sources of the Chitang are only seven or eight miles distant.

Of Fíruz's other great work for the supply of water for the environs of Dehli, we have only casual mention by Tímúr, who, in speaking of the capture of the Fort of *Lo*, describes it as situated between the two rivers Jumna and Hindun, the latter of which is stated to be a large canal constructed by Fíruz Sháh, taken from the Kalanadí, and connected with the Jumna opposite Fíruzábád.

See also Col Colvin's Notice, *Jour As Soc Bengal*, ii p 111.

¹ The Chitang was one of the sacred rivers of the Brahmans embalmed in 'Manu,' as 'between the two divine rivers *Sarasvatí* and *Drishad catí* (Chitang) lies the tract of land which the sages have named *Brahmávartha* because it was frequented by gods (ii 17). 'Kurukshetra (modern Dehli) *Matasya* (on the Jumna), *Panchdla* (*Kanyakubja* Kanauj), and *Surasena* (Mathurá), form the region called Brahmarsu, distinguished from Brahmávartha (ii 19). See also Dr J Muir, *J R A S* ii, N S, pp 12, 18, Wilson, Megha Duta, pp 356 7-8.

The improved texts and translations of Tímúr's memoirs, now available, enable us to fix with precision the site of the ancient city of Sarsuti which proves to be identical with that of the modern town of Sirsah, lat 29° 31', long 75° 6'. We can readily follow Tímúr's march upwards from Bhatnár to Sirsah, towards Fathábád, Agrowah, and onwards to Fíruz Sháh's canal works about Sufidún.

COINS BEARING THE CONJOINED NAMES OF FIRUZ SHAH AND HIS SON FATH KHAN.

Firúz Sháh, ill-fitted as he was in many respects to fill an Oriental throne, was ever ready to avail himself of the aid of stronger and more determined minds; hence his placid abandonment of all virtual authority to those singularly efficient Hindú administrators, Khán-i-Jahán, father and son, of that designation, who for 37 years guided the destinies of the narrowed dominions of the sovereignty of Dehli, while the Sultán employed himself in the exercise of his taste for building, the laying out of gardens, and improving his private estate.¹ Some such feeling of the need of political support

¹ I have previously adverted to the innate resources of India. The following incident is highly illustrative, as showing the accumulations it was possible to get together during the lifetime of a single prosperous *slave*—"The great wealth of 'Imád ud-din has already been spoken of, it amounted to *krors*. The author was told that on one occasion bags were required for containing the coin, and 2,500 *tankahs* were expended in the purchase of the material, the cost of each bag being four *jitals* . . . When the accounts were brought before 'Imád ul Mulk, he objected to this extravagant outlay for bags, and directed that pits should be dug in the ground and the money placed therein . . . There were many rich *kháns* and *maliks* in the time of Firúz Sháh, but no five of them possessed the wealth of this one noble. It is said that he amassed thirteen *krors* (of *tankahs*) [130,000,000 = £13,000,000], but was avid in the acquisition of more. He held the fief of Ráprí, and looked very vigilantly after it. The clerks of the Exchequer (*diwán-i-tcazdrat*) were afraid of him, and they refrained from calling him to account, so that in the course of years a large balance was due by him. This fact became known to the Sultán. . . . When 'Imád ul-Mulk heard about the inquiry, he drew up a statement of his wealth, which he himself presented to the Sultán, who read it without making any observation, and returned it. . . . One day 'Imád-ul-Mulk brought a *kror* (of *tankahs*) [10,000,000 = £1,000,000] to Court, and when the Sultán cried out,

may have led him to invest his son, Fath Khán, with the insignia of royalty so early as A.H. 760,¹ and to adopt the unusual expedient of placing his name, in conjunction with his own, on the public currency. Extant money also seems to show that a parallel issue of a binominal coinage took place after Fath Khán's death, in favour of another son, Zafar, whose own son, Abúbakr, eventually succeeded to the *masnad* on the death of Ghíás-ud-dín Tughlak, the son of Fath Khán, in A.H. 791. Later in his reign, when Muhammad bin Fírúz was formally associated in the government, a similar numismatic manifestation of Vice-regency was made

Fath Khán was so effectively recognized as the heir-apparent, that we find the Egyptian Khalif *Abu'l Fath Al M'utazid billah*² forwarding him a special robe of honour on the occasion of Fírúz Sháh's investiture;³ and the coins themselves, though undated, bear record of this Pontiff's name and that of his successor, Abú Abdallah.⁴

¹ Bakhár, what is this? he replied that it was a small contribution (*chLi 'alufah*) for the use of the servants of the Court"—Elliot's *Historians*, vol. iii p 372

² Briggs's *Ferishtah*, i. 451

³ The sixth of his line Date of inauguration, A H 763 See p 258 *ante*

⁴ The third chapter of the fourth book of *Shams i Suráj 'Afif's Táríkh i-Fírúz Sháhi* contains a detailed account of the arrival at Dehli of the emissaries of the Khalif, *أبو التمع أبي بكر بن أبي الربع سليمان*, who were the bearers of a *Khú'at* for Fírúz Sháh. The narrative enters into the ceremony of the reception of this robe of honour, and enlarges upon the high compliment paid to the reigning Sultán in the voluntary act of the Khalif, as contrasted with the solicitation which had secured a similar concession for Muhammad bin Tughlak. The title bestowed upon the Sultán on this occasion, and which he himself repeats, with pride in his own autobiography, was *سيد السلاطين*. Fírúz does not use this title on his coins, but, as has been seen, adopts the more imposing warrior title of the early days of Mahmúd of Ghazni *سيف أمير المؤمنين* "Sword of the Commander of the Faithful" The Sháhzádah Fath Khán and the *emir* Khán Jahán were invested with *Khú'ats* at the same time

⁵ No 7 Accession, A.H. 763

Fath Khán died in 776 A.H., and was buried in state by his father, who, with pious care, erected near his tomb, known as the *Kadam Sharif*, a dependent Mosque and a *Madrasah*, and likewise excavated a reservoir, which exists to this day¹

Coins of *Firuz Sháh* and Fath Khán

No 240 Gold Weight, 168 grs Unique

•	في ريس الامام	شاه
	امير المومنين	فتحان مرور
	ابو الفتح المعتمد بالله	حل الله طلاله
	خلدت خلافته	وحلاله

The letters of the legends of these coins are very imperfectly formed, and the words are arranged with but scant regard to legible sequence, while the Arabic invocation is altogether wild in its tenor

No 241 Silver and Copper Weight, 136 grs

Obverse—فتحان مرور شاه حل الله طلاله وحلاله

Reverse—في ريس الامام امير المومنين ابو الفتح المعتمد بالله
خلدت خلافته

No 242 Silver and Copper Weight, 138 grs Rare

Obverse as in No 241

• *Reverse*—في ريس الامام امير المومنين ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافته

No 243 Silver and Copper Weight, 52 grs

Smaller coins of similar types

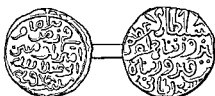
¹ Syud Ahmad p 37, Jour Asiatique, 1860 p 411

No 244 Silver and Copper Weight, 139 grs Variety of No 241
Obverse—فتحیان سرور شاد * حل طلال حلال صرت ددد السکه
Reverse as No 242

COINS BEARING THE JOINT NAMES OF FIRUZ AND HIS SON ZAFAR

The special coins of Firuz Sháh, incorporating the name of his second son Zafar, require but brief notice after the combinations already brought under review in the parallel instance of the binominal coins of Fath Khan. It will be seen that they constitute a very complete series in the various metals, and, though usually undated, they may be taken, in their material form, to represent a fairly sustained and continuous issue. Unlike the pieces of the elder brother, which, in their crude legends, show signs of provincial treatment, the coins of Zafar coincide closely in their general aspect with the ordinary money of the reigning monarch, and in so far fully bear out the declaration on their surfaces of a Delhi mintage. There is one point in regard to the specimens quoted below which seems to call for explanation, which is the appearance of the date of 791 A H on No 247, a period when Zafar must obviously have been in his grave, but we have already had experience of the unreserve with which the Delhi mint masters latterly put forth posthumous coins, under the possibly double aim of utilizing the already executed dies of the obverse, supplemented by a confessedly responsible date of issue on the newly sunk die of the reverse, as well as in the not unreasonable desire to perpetuate a specific coinage that had already achieved good credit with the public at large.

No 245 Gold Weight, 168.4 grs Unique Col Guthrie



في ريس الامام
امير المومنين
ابو عبد الله
خلدت علامه

السلطان الاعظم
مرور شاه طغر
بن مرور شاه
السلطاني

No 246 Silver (?) Weight 140 grs New variety
Mr E C Bayley

Obverse—مرور شاه طغر السلطاني * * دهلي

Reverse—الحملة امير المومنين خلدت علامه

No 247 (pl iv fig 116) Silver and Copper Weight, 136 grs
A H 791

Obverse—مرور شاه طغر سلطاني صرت محصرت دهلي

Reverse—الحملة ابو عبد الله خلدت علامه ٧٩١

No 248 (pl iv fig 124) Silver and Copper Weight, 78 grs

ابو عبد الله
خلدت علامه

مرور شاه
طغراس
مرور شاه

No 249	Copper	Weight, 78 grs	New variety
	الحلقة		مسرور
	ابو عبد الله		شاد طغر
	جلد حاتم		السلطان

,TWENTY FIRST KING (A H 790-791, A D 1388-1388)

Ghiás ud dīn Tughlak Shah II, the son of Fath Khán, was formally appointed successor to the throne, and invested with the direct administration of the State, on the defeat of Násir ud dīn Muhammad bin Firuz, in A H 789. Immediately on Firuz's death, on the 18th Ramazán, 790 A H, he assumed the full insignia of royalty. His earliest efforts were directed towards the capture of the late associate king, the *Shah-ulah* Muhammad, but his generals were unsuccessful in their pursuit, and after some manœuvring in the hills of Sirmur, the Prince made good his retreat to the strong Fort of Nagarkot, where he was permitted to remain undisturbed.

In the mean time Tughlak Sháh had been surrendering himself to unbridled dissipation in his capital leaving the management of the kingdom to the chance offices of the ministers by whom he was surrounded. Eventually a party, headed by the Naib Vazir, *Rukn Chand*, put forward Abubakr Shah the son of Zafar Khan, as a claimant for the throne, and Tughlak Sháh, in attempting to escape from his palace towards the Jumna, was overtaken and killed on the 21st of Safar, A H 791.

No 250 (pl iv fig 126) Silver and Copper Weight, 136 grs

A H 790

الحليمه ابو	تعلق شاه
عبد الله خلدت	سلطاي صرمت
خلافته ۷۹۰	محسرت دھلي

No 251 Silver and Copper (the silver predominates)

Weight, 164 grs New variety A H 790

نائب	سلطاي
امير المومسن	تعلق شاه
۷۹۰	

No 252 Silver and Copper Weight, 80 grs

Obverse—تعلق شاه سلطاي خلد ملکہ—

Reverse—ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافته—

No 253 Silver and Copper (excess of copper) Weight, 50 grs

New variety A H 790

ابو عبد الله	تعلق شاه
۷۹۰	سلطاي

No 254 Copper Weight, 68 grains

Obverse—تعلق شاه سلطاي—

Reverse—دار الملک دھلي—

TWENTY-SECOND KING (A.H. 791-792; A.D. 1388-1389).

Rukn Chand having raised Abúbakr bin Zafar Khán to the throne, naturally constituted himself prime minister, but this dignity scarcely satisfied his ambition, and he shortly proceeded to intrigue, with a view to supplant his own nominee; but the nobles, who were staunch to Abúbakr, getting information of his designs, took the initiative, and put him to death, with many of those upon whose support he had relied. The new king's power now became consolidated in the capital; but the murder of Sultán Sháh, the governor of Samána, encouraged Muhammad Sháh to issue from his stronghold of Nagarkót, and eventually to advance in force upon Dehli. In the irregular engagements which took place at Fírúzábád, Muhammad Sháh was unsuccessful, and retired into the Doáb; but being reinforced, he again encountered Abúbakr at Kandali, with a similar result; a third time he tried his fortune, at Paniput (his troops being commanded by his son), with an equal want of success. The Sultán, however, was unable to follow up his victories in an effectual manner, as it was unsafe to quit the capital which contained so many doubtful adherents; indeed, on the occasion of his absence in Jumáda'l awwal, 792 A.H., Muhammad absolutely made his way into the city, from which, however, he was speedily ejected. Shortly after this, Islám Khán, one of the most prominent of the old Fírúz Sháhi adherents, quarrelled with Abúbakr, and invited Muhammad to join him at Dehli. The Sultán's case now became hopeless, and on the 19th Ramazán, 792 A.H., Muhammad was formally installed as supreme monarch at Fírúzábád, and Abúbakr, after some

ineffectual fighting, in Muharram, 793 A H, surrendered at discretion, and died in prison at Meerut.

No 255 (pl iv fig 129) Silver and Copper Weight, 134 grs
A H 791, 792, 793

الحمله ابو	ابوبكر شاد
عبد الله حلدت	بن طهر بن مرور شاه
حلافه ٧٩١	سلطاني

No 256 Silver and Copper Weight, 47 grs Small coin
Obverse and reverse legends similar to No 255

No 257 Copper Weight, 114 grs A H 792
Obverse—In a square area, ابوبكر شاد
Margin— طهر بن مرور شاه سلطاني
Reverse— نايب امير المومنين ٧٩٢

No 258 Copper Weight, 165 grs. Imperfect
Obverse—In a circular area, ابوبكر شاد
Margin— مرور شاه * * *
Reverse as No 257

No 259 Copper Weight, 140 grs. New variety A H 792

باب	ابوبكر شاد
امير المومنين	طهر بن مرور شاه
حلدت حلافه	سلطاني
٧٩٢	

No 260 Copper Weight, 58 grs

Obverse— ابو بکر شاه طغر سلطانى

Reverse— الحلیفه ابو عبد الله خلعت حلامه

POSTHUMOUS COIN OF ABUBAKR

One specimen of the coins of the identical type No 260 is dated in clearly formed figures ٨١٣ 813 A H (My cabinet)

TWENTY-THIRD KING (A H 792, A D 1389)

The Sháh-zádah Muhammad Khán, son of Firúz, defeated the arrogant *Vazir* Khán-i-Jahán, in Ryab, A H 789, and in the month of Shabán he was associated with his father in the government of the kingdom, which the failing strength of the Sultán did not permit him efficiently to control¹ The

¹ This appointment was attended with many of the forms and ceremonies of regal inauguration. The *khutbah* was read in the names of the two kings

(در مساجد جمعه تمام بلاد مملکت خطبه نام هر دو بادشاه مى خواندند در ماه شعبان سه المذکور شاهراده محمد خان در قصر
خان با جلوس فرمود) *Tárikh i Mubárah Sháhi MS*

Shams i Siráj Afif makes also an incidental reference to this contemporary nomination. Book i cap 18 "On the names used in the *khutbah* It had been a rule among the Sultáns of Dehli that the name of the reigning monarch only was mentioned in the prayers of Sabbaths and festivals, and no reference was made to former Sultáns When Sultán Firúz came to the throne, they were about to follow the same rule and to mention his name only in the *khutbah*, but he disapproved of the omission of former kings, and ordered that a *khutbah* should be said first in the names of those kings, and then one in which his own name should be mentioned. In accordance with this decree, the Sultáns in the

Prince was, however, unable to maintain his position in the capital, and had to retire to the hills of Sirmúr, where he was able to hold his own against the armies of his regnant nephew, Tughlak Sháh II. After the accession of Abubakr, he obtained possession of Samána, and being reinforced from other quarters, he considered himself sufficiently strong to assume anew the ensigns of royalty (6th Rabi'ul ákhir, 791 A H), and further to attack Abubakr at Firuzábád in Jumáda'l awwal, 791 A H. In this attempt he failed, but, undeterred, he recruited his forces, and again encountered Abúbakr at Kandali, in Shabán of the same year, with a similar want of success. A third time, with a like result, the troops of Muhammad, under his son Humáyún, met the Sultán's army near Paniput (in Muharram, 792 A H). Still trusting to the turns of fortune, Muhammad absolutely entered the metropolis during the momentary absence of Abúbakr, but was not in sufficient force to profit by his advantage. His eventual elevation to the throne was due to the defection of Islám Khán, one of the influential leaders of the anomalous institution of the "Slaves of Firuz Sháh," who quarrelled with Abúbakr, and invited Muhammad to join him, and on the 19th Ramazan, 792 A H, the son of Firúz once again entered Dehli as its Sultán.

following list were specially selected to be named in the *Khutbah* — 1 Sultán Shabáb ud din Muhammad bin Sâm, 2 Shams ud din Altamsh, 3. Násir ud din Mahmúd, 4 Ghiás ud din Balban, 5 Jalál ud din Firúz, 6 'Alá ud-din Muhammad *Khalji*, 7 Kutb ud-din Mubárak, 8 Ghiás ud din Tughlak Sháh, 9 Sultán Muhammad *Adil* 10 Firúz Sháh. Two names were selected to be mentioned after that of Sultán Firúz Sháh viz, Muhammad bin Firuz Sháh and his son Alá ud d n Sikandar Sháh, and till the end of the reign these names were mentioned in the prayers — Elliot's *Historians*, III. 292, and MSS. This last name is clearly an interpolation of the author's as his work progressed under succeeding kings. He speaks in a subsequent passage, of Tímúr's admiring the monuments of Dehli in 801 A.H (p. 353).

In 794 A H., Harsing, the Rájá of Etáwah, and other Hindú Zamindars, revolted, but were defeated by the army of Islám Khan, and the Sultán himself proceeded to Etáwah and demolished the Fort, from thence he went on to Kanaug and Dalamau, and commenced the foundations of a new city at Jalesur,¹ to which he gave the designation of Muhammadabad. Suspicions having been fomented as to the fidelity of Islám Khan, he was finally condemned to death, on the false testimony of his own nephew, *Jajun*, an unconverted Hindu, and Khwajah Jahan was appointed Vazir in his stead.

In 795 A H., the Sultan defeated Bahadur Nahir, who had been bold enough to ravage the country up to the gates of Dehli, but on his return to his new capital, he died of a fever in Rabi'ul akhir, A H 798.

COINS OF MUHAMMAD BIN FIRUZ AS JOINT KING

No 261 (pl iv fig 135) Impure Silver Weight, 167 grs
A H 790

Obverse—محمد شاد مرور شاه سلطانى

Reverse { Centre, ابو عبد الله
Margin, خلادت خلادته صريت محصرت دهلى ۷۹۰

No 262 Copper Weight, 67 grs Unique My cabinet

Obverse—مرور شاه سلطانى

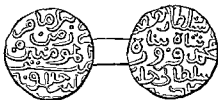
Reverse—محمد شاد سلطانى

The specimen of No 265, dated 790 A H., must also be accepted as having formed an example of the Regency currency.

¹ Nizám ud dín Ahmad has *حلسر* and Ferishtah has *حالسسر*, but the Táríkh i Mubárák Sháhí has *حت*.

MUHAMMAD BIN FIRUZ'S OWN COINS •

No 263 Gold Weight, 170 grs Very rare Col Guthrie



في رمس الامام
امير المومنين
حلدت حلافته

السلطان الاعظم
محمد شاه مرور شاه
سلطانى حلدت
مملكته

No 264 (pl iv fig 134) Silver Weight, 173 grs
(Marsden, Nos dccxix, dccxxii, B M)

A second Weight, 171.5 grs Mr E C Bayley A H 793

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم ابوالمحامد محمد شاه مرور شاه سلطانى

Reverse—في رمس الامام امير المومنين حلدت حلافته ٧٩٣

No 265 Silver and Copper Weight, 140 grs
A H 790, 798, 794

الجمعة ابو
عبد الله حلدت
حلافته ٧٩٣

سلطان
ميرور شاه
محمد شاه

No 267 Copper. Weight, 68 6 grains Small coins.

A H 793, 794, 795.

دار الملك	|	محمد شاه
دهلي	|	سلطاني
۷۹۳	|	

No 268. Copper. Weight, 30 grs exact weight

بحرت	|	محمد
دهلي	|	شاه

No. 269 Copper Weight, 52 grs

Obverse—محمد شاه فيروز شاه سلطان

Reverse—الحليعه ابو عبد الله

POSTHUMOUS COINS OF MUHAMMAD BIN FIRUZ

No 270 Silver Weight, 174 grs A H 817, 818¹

(B M and my cabinet)

في رس	|	السلطان الاعظم
امير المؤمنين	|	ابو المجاهد محمد شاه
حصلت حلفه	|	فيروز شاه
۸۱۸	|	سلطاني

¹ Marsden detected these exceptional dates on his own coins. He says, "Yet a difficulty, that I am quite unable to explain, presents itself on some of these specimens, where we perceive, in characters rude indeed, but sufficiently distinct the numeral figures ۸۱۷ 817 on one, and ۸۱۸ (8) 18 on a second" (p 542)

No 271 Copper Similar to No 267 A.H. 801, 804

These later specimens vary in the substitution of سلطان in the place of سلاطی

There are no extant inscriptions bearing the name of Muhammad bin Firuz, but the erection of his father's tomb on the margin of the Hauz i Khas, which is ordinarily attributed to his filial devotion, is associated with a record of the father's name, on the inner semicircle of the archway, while the outer band or superimposed arch displays the titles and designation of Sikandar bin Buhlul Lodi, who seems, in the spirit of Firuz himself, to have repaired the original edifice, with many other monuments of Dehli, in 913 A.H. Both these inscriptions are stuccoed in Indian *Chunam*, or fine lime plaster, in alto relievo, and, as might have been expected, have suffered considerably from the combined effects of time and climate. The following words may, however, still be traced in the primary legend —

* سلطان السلاطین مرور شاه طاب ثراه و جعل الحجة مثواه *

In immediate proximity to this tomb are Muhammad Sháh's own grave and that of his son Sikandar Sháh

¹ Syud Ahmad, facsimile, No 23, pp 32 41, 61, *Journal Asiatique* (1860), p 41o. Timúr mentions this tomb in his memoirs, and expresses his admiration of the reservoir, which he describes as a bow shot square — *Pétis de la Croux*, cap. xix. Elliot's *Historians*, iii. pp 441, 501. The site of this tank is not marked on the accompanying plan, & may possibly have reverted to a similar state of disrepair to that which Firuz speaks of (p 290) when the first English survey was made. The adjoining village still goes by the name of Hauz i Khás — *Jour As Soc Bengal*, 1870, p 81.

•
 TWENTY FOURTH KING (A H 795, A D 1392)

Humáyun, the son of Nasir ud din Muhammad, assumed, on his accession, the designation of Sikandar Shah. The historical record of the rule of this Sovereign is confined to the announcement, that he attained regal honours, and enjoyed them for the brief space of forty five days ¹

No 272 . Silver and Copper mixed Weight, 142 grs A H 795

Obverse—سکندر شاه محمد شاه سلطانى

Reverse—الحملعه ابو عبد الله خلعت حلاه

No 273 Copper Weight, 134 grs A H 795

Obverse { *Centre*, سکندر شاه
 Margin, حضرت دہلی

Reverse—بايب امر المومنين ۷۹۵

No 274 (pl. iv fig 142) Copper Weight 67 grs A H 795

Obverse—سکندر شاه سلطانى

Reverse—دار الملک دہلی ۷۹۵

No 275 Copper Weight, 30 grs (exact weight)

حضرت

شاه

دہلی

سکندر

¹ From the 17th of Rabî ul awwal when his father died or more exactly from the 19th when he ascended the throne to the 5th of Jumâda l awwal 795 A.H. —Tabakât i Akbari MS

TWENTY-FIFTH KING (A.H. 795-815; A.D. 1392-1412).

Of all the feeble inheritors of Fírúz Sháh's family honours, Mahmúd bin Muhammad was perhaps the most insignificant—a very shadow of a king. The earliest recognition of his nominal supremacy was associated with evil omens, and the normal weakness of the central government of the empire was further augmented by insurrections, which sprang up on all sides. Prominent among the rest, was the important defection of the *vazir*, Khwájah Jahán, who, in this act, laid the foundations of the temporarily powerful kingdom of Jaunpúr. In 797 A.H., a new claimant to the throne was advanced by S'aádat Khán,¹ in the person of Nuşrat

¹ S'aádat Khán, one of the leading nobles of Mahmúd Sháh's newly improvised Court, accompanied the Sultán in his expedition to Gwalior, in 796 A.H., and discovering a plot against his own life, quickly disposed of the leading conspirators, with the exception of Mullá Ikbál Khán, who was destined to play so prominent a part in the events of the period, and who succeeded in escaping to Dehli, where he joined Mukarrab Khán, who had been left in charge of the metropolis. In the strange turns of Indian politics, S'aádat Khán, carrying the Sultán with him, proceeded to besiege Dehli, but some delay occurring in its capture, the Sultán was induced to take refuge within the walls. This encouraged the besieged to risk a battle, in which they were signally defeated, but S'aádat Khán was not sufficiently strong to capture the place, so he hit upon the novel expedient of setting up a king of his own, and selected Nuşrat Khán, who stood in the same family relationship to Fírúz as Mahmúd himself, and duly installed him as king in the city of Fírúzábád. Some of the old slaves of Fírúz Sháh and other influential parties in that town having made overtures to Mahmúd, S'aádat Khán found his position untenable, and retired with a scanty following within the walls of Dehli. Mukarrab Khán pretended to receive him with amity and overt attention, but took an early opportunity of putting him to death.

Khán, a son of Fath Khán, and grandson of Fírúz. His supporters actually took and retained possession of the new capital of Fírúzábád, while Mahmúd and his followers were confined to the triple town of Dehli.¹ In this anomalous condition matters continued for the space of three entire years, each being in a measure king, and each holding his own dependent provinces of the empire:² meanwhile, constant and sanguinary encounters occurred between the troops of the rival factions. At length, Mullú Ikbál Khán, who, in fit keeping with the whole of this strange state of political existence, had remained an observant and neutral spectator, first deceived, and, for the time, ruined Nuşrat Sháh, and then succeeded in getting possession of the person of Mahmúd, in whose name he thenceforth pretended to rule. This irregular administration was, however, put an end to by the advance of the celebrated Timúr.³ The defeat of the Indian

¹ Under Mukarrab Khán, Bahádur Náhur had charge of *Old Dehli* (دہلی کبہ), and *Mullu Ikbál Khán* commanded the Fort of Sírí, the intermediate *Jahán-panáh* constituted the more open royal head-quarters — *Tárikh-i Mubárák Sháhi*.

² Mahmúd's districts at this period are specified as—1 The Doáb (or portions of it S.E. of Dehli), 2 Sambal, 3 Pámpūt, 4 Jhujhur, and 5 Rohtak — *Tárikh i Mubárák Sháhi* MS.

³ Timúr, in his autobiography entitled "*Malfúzat i Timúri*," contributes much curious information as to the state of India at the period of his invasion. Many of the details regarding the routes and the distribution of the strong places are of considerable interest, but his account of the capture of Dehli claims distinct notice. He tells us that in the engagement with the forces of Mahmúd and Mullú Ikbál Khán, the Indian troops bore themselves bravely, and showed no want of courage. He goes on to describe his entry into the capital and his special directions that the *khutbah* should be repeated in his name "in the pulpits and mosques of the city of Dehli," and he relates, with an evident feeling of the need of justification, the sack and utter ruin of the three towns, and the ruthless extermination of their inhabitants, for which he condescends to give no less than five very insufficient reasons. His narrative proceeds—"By the will of God, and by no wish or direction of mine, all the three cities of Dehli, by name Sírí, *Jahán-panáh*, and *Old Dehli*, had been plundered. The *khutbah* of my sove-

army, the surrender and subsequent merciless sack of Dehli followed; and, for five days, the Mughal conqueror continued feasting while his troops plundered and destroyed the hapless citizens of the ill-fated city; and, to finish the inconsistency, innate in the barbarian mind, "on the day of his departure he offered up to the Divine Majesty his sincere and humble tribute of grateful praise"¹

The capital of Hindústán remained in a state of complete anarchy, to which were superadded the horrors of famine and pestilence, for the space of two months after the departure of Tímúr. At the end of this period it was taken possession of by Nuṣrat Sháh, and shortly afterwards

reignty, which is an assurance of safety and protection, had been read in the city. It was therefore my earnest wish that no evil might happen to the people of the place. But it was ordained by God that the city should be ruined. He therefore inspired the infidel inhabitants with a spirit of resistance, so that they brought on themselves that fate which was inevitable. When my mind was no longer occupied with the destruction of the people of Dehli, I took a ride round the cities. Sirí is a round city (*shahr*). Its buildings are lofty. They are surrounded by fortifications (*laḥāḥ*), built of stone and brick, and they are very strong. Old Dehli also has a similar strong fort, but it is larger than that of Sirí. From the fort of Sirí to that of Old Dehli, which is a considerable distance, there runs a strong wall, built of stone and cement. The part called Jahán panáh is situated in the midst of the inhabited city (*shahr-i-diddan*). The fortifications of the three cities have thirty gates. Jahán-panáh has thirteen gates, seven on the south side bearing towards the east, and six on the north side bearing towards the west. Sirí has seven gates, four towards the outside and three on the inside towards Jahán-panáh. The fortifications of Old Dehli have ten gates, some opening to the exterior and some towards the interior of the city. When I was tired of examining the city, I set out into the *Masjid-i-Jami'*, where a congregation was assembled: family relations, *shaiḫs*, and other of the principal Musulmáns, with the king in the centre of the city, to whom they had been a protection and defence. I influenced an officer to protect their quarter of the city, and guard them. *Adat Khán* found"—Elliot's *Historians*, iii. p. 447. See also *Zafar Námah*, p. 61 in the walls of Delhi de la Croix's translation, book iv. cap. xx.

¹ Price's *Musart* attention, but in p. 267. This futile ceremony took place in Firáz Sháh's Mos.

it again passed into the hands of Mullu Ikbál Khán, whose sway at this time extended but little beyond its walls, the provinces being, in effect, independent under their several governors, who, one and all, held themselves as kings¹ Ikbál Khán nevertheless, succeeded in gradually enlarging his boundaries, and in 804 A H was joined by Mahmud (who had fled at the sack of Dehli to Gujárat), on whom he amiably bestowed his countenance and protection Ikbál Khán now undertook an expedition against Ibráhím Sháh Sharki, the Sultan of Jaunpur, who had lately succeeded his brother Mu barak, and Mahmud, thinking to improve his position, deserted his guardian, and went over to Ibrahim He was, however, received with but small encouragement, and, finally, was allowed by both parties to establish himself as a sort of local king of Kanauj On the death of Ikbál Khán, which took place in an action with Khizr Khán, the governor of Multan in Jumáda'l awwal, 808 A H, Mahmud was again invited to Dehli by Daulat Khán Lodí and other men of influence, but "deficient both in sense and courage," he made but little profit of his restored rights, and, surrendering himself to dissipation, he unconcernedly allowed the various local governors to fight their own battles for the few districts

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¹ DISTRIBUTION OF THE PATHÁN EMPIRE AFTER THE INVASION OF TÍMÚR IN
A H. 801 A D 1398

Mullá Ikbál Khán	Dehli and the Doáb
Zafar Khán.	Gujárat
Khizr Khán	Multan Da'balpúr Sind (ساحت سد)
Mahmúd Khán	Mahóbbah, Kalpi
Khwájah : Jahán	Kanauj Oude Karrah, Dalamsau Sandalah Babraich Bahár Jaunpúr
Diláwar Khán	Dhár *
Ghálíb Khán	Samannah.
Shams Khán	Bíana.

which still confessed a nominal allegiance to the throne of Dehli Mahmud died in Rajab, 815 A H

No 276 (pl iv fig 143) Weight, 174 grs

فی رس الامام	السلطان الاعظم
امير المومنين	ابو الامام محمد محمود شاد
خلدت خلافته	محمد شاد سرور شاد
	سلطاني

No 277 (pl iv fig 144) Silver (impure) Weight, 141 grs
A H 790, 796

Obverse—محمد محمود شاد محمد شاد سلطاني

Reverse—الحلقة ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافته ٧٩٦

No 278 Copper Weight, 140 grs A H 798, 800, 804, 813, 815

Obverse { Centre, محمد محمود شاد
Margin, سلطان صريت محبت دهلي

Reverse—نائب امير المومنين ٨١٣

No 279 Copper Weight 56 grs

Obverse—Legend as in No 277

Reverse—الحلقة امير المومنين خلدت خلافته

No. 280 (pl. iv. fig. 147). Copper. Weight, 68 grs. A.H. 795, 797, 798, 800, 801, 802, 815 (816,¹ Posthumous coin; several examples of this date are known).

Obverse—محمود شاه سلطانى

Reverse—دار الملك دهلي ۷۹۵

No. 281. Copper. Weight, 32 grs.

بحضرت	|	شاه
دهلي	|	محمود

¹ The date of the death of Mahmúd is fixed by Ferishtah in Zi'l k'adah, 814 A.H., and the assumption of power by Daulat Khán Lodí is affirmed, by the same author, to have taken place on the 1st of Muharram, 816 A.H. A difficulty is suggested in the very fact of the capital, and the country dependent upon it, having, as thus stated, remained for nearly fourteen months without even a nominal ruler. This anomaly is not attempted to be met by the compiler in question, nor is even its existence noticed by subsequent commentators (See Bombay text, i p 292, Briggs, vol. I. p 504, Elphinstone, vol. II. p 80)

The point at issue seems to be authoritatively settled at rest by the author of the Táríkh i Mubárah Sháhi, who is very full and elaborate in his dates bearing upon the conflicting events of this troubled period, when a king's life was otherwise a matter of almost secondary importance. His text is most clear as to the month of Rajab, A.H. 816, and he adds emphatically—

مدت ملك او ناین همه تزلزل و انقلاب بیست سال و دو ماه بود

has now been reached in the history of that dynasty when the reverse process of disintegration had already made considerable progress and the coins of local governors, or their successors who had achieved independence began to obtrude themselves in the general circulation. I do not propose to follow out the minor gradations of these local mintages, but where opportunities offer, I may, perhaps, advantageously notice representative numismatic illustrations of the advance of the more important kingdoms thus emancipated from central control.

The earliest contemporaneous issue, and that which is most closely connected with the decadence of Dehli, is the money of the Sultáns of Jaunpur, whose reigning representative Ibráhim has been already noticed in connexion with the affairs of Mahmud and Mullu Ikbál Khan.

The following is a list of the dynasty of the independent Kings of Jaunpur, with their dates of accession —

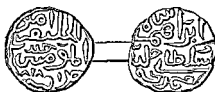
THE KINGS OF JAUNPÚR

A. H.	A. D.	
796	1393	Khawájah 1-Jahan vazir of Muhammad bin Firuz
802	1399	Mubarak Sháh his adopted son (ملك مبارك درغل)
804	1401	Ibráhim Sháh <i>Sarkar</i>
814	1440	Mahmud Sháh bin Ibráhim Sháh
862	1457	Muhammad Sháh (Bhikun Khán) bin Mahmud
862	1457	Husain Shah (defeated by Bahlol Lodi in 879 A. H. ¹)
879	1474	Barbak bin Bahlol Lodi placed in charge of Jaunpur
On Bahlol Lodi's death Barbak opposes Sikandar bin Bahlol but is defeated in A. H. 881, when Jaunpur again becomes subject to Dehli		

¹ Husain is permitted to retain some outlying districts, and finally seeks refuge with Ala-ud-din of Bengal.

SPECIMEN COIN OF THE JAUNPUR MINT

No 286 Silver and Copper Weight, 140 grs A H 818

*Obverse*—ابراهيم شاه سلطان مملكته*Reverse*—الحليفه امير المومنين خلافته ٨١٨

Marsden has engraved and described a very full list of Jaunpur coins, comprising the subjoined series (1-6), which I improve from Col Guthrie's rich collection, the latter specimens are discriminated by *italic* letters (*a-h*) —

1 *Gold Weight, 148.5 grs B M

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم شمس الدسا والدين ابوالمظفر ابراهيم شاه
سلطان حلد مملكته

Reverse { *Area*, في راس الامام امير المومنين ابوالفتح حلد خلافته
 Margin, صرب هذا الديار في سه احد

a Gold Weight, 177.3 grs A H 840 Col Guthrie

The chief peculiarity of this gold coinage is the elongation of the down strokes of the leading letters on the obverse, so that the upper surface presents a similarity to a modern Organ front, with its array of parallel pipes, the characters of the legends are also exceptional, and are fashioned in straggling and imperfect outlines, in a manner altogether unworthy of a civilized mint

2 Silver and Copper Weight, 36 grs Pl. xxxvii fig dccii

A H 822 irregular dates up to 824 836, and 844

Obverse—ابراهيم شاه سلطان*Reverse*—الحليفه ابوالفتح ٨٣٦

3 Silver and Copper Weight, 151 grs. Pl. xxxvii fig dccli A H 813, 826
Specimen similar to that above engraved under No 286 of the present series

b Маумѣ Gold. Weight, 176.2 grs A H 855 Type as in No 1

4 Silver and Copper Pl xxxvii fig dccliii A.H. 845 846 849 856

Obverse—محمود شاه بن ابراهيم شاه سلطان حلدت مملكتـ

Reverse—الحليفه امير المومنين حلدت حلافه ٨٤٥

c Copper Weight, 144 grs A.H. 844, etc

Obverse { Circular area, محمود شاه
Margin بن ابراهيم شاه سلطان

Reverse—٨٤٤ نائب امير المومنين

5 Silver and Copper Varieties Nos dccliv and dcclv A.H. 846

d MUHAMMAD Silver and Copper A.H. 861, 862, 863

Obverse—

محمد شاه بن محمود شاه بن ابراهيم شاه سلطان حلدت مملكتـ

Reverse—الحليفه امير المومنين حلدت حلافه ٨٦١

e MUHAMMAD Copper A.H. 861

Obverse { Circular area, محمد شاه
Margin, بن محمود شاه بن ابراهيم شاه سلطان

Reverse—٨٦١ نائب امير المومنين

f HUSAIN Gold. Weight, 180.3 grs

Type as in No 1, but with the entire omission of the marginal record

g Variety Copper A.H. 865

Obverse { Circular area, حسن شاه
Margin, بن محمود شاه بن ابراهيم شاه سلطان

Reverse—٨٦٥ نائب امير المومنين

h Copper No dcclvi A.H. 880, 886 897, 900

حسن شاه بن محمود شاه بن ابراهيم شاه سلطان حلدت

الحليفه ابو عبد الله امير المومنين حلدت حلافه ٨٩٧

General Cunningham, who, in his earnest pursuit of the varied branches of Indian antiquarian lore, has devoted some attention to the provincial mintages of Jaunpur, informs me that coins of Mahmud are extant in continuous suites, dating from A H 844 to A H 863, and that during the concluding *three* years of his reign, in apparent imitation of Firuz Shah, he associated his eldest son, Muhammad, in the ostensible government of his kingdom. This concurrence of power is so far numismatically demonstrated, as to enable us to quote a record of the name of the son upon pieces purporting to have been issued from the mint of 'the Eastern Metropolis during the years 861, 862, and 863 A H.

The subjoined series of assays were likewise conducted under the immediate superintendence of General Cunningham, and although his object, in these analyses, was rather to arrive at a general average of intrinsic contents, than to discover discriminative proportions of silver in the gradational divisions of the ruling *lanis*, the table itself is of considerable interest, not only as an additional evidence of the existence of the pervading system of mixed metals for the regulation of exchange rates, but as affording a totally independent test of the values of conterminous issues, whose bare names have hitherto carried but vague intimations of their effective position in the circulating media of the period. At the same time, I must guard my readers against any supposition that the apparent depreciation of the currency under Husain, as here set forth, is in any way real and positive. As coins were seemingly taken at hazard for these trials, the depreciated result of the silver return in the money of the latter king may merely imply that his *do-lanis* were more largely current or more readily accessible to the modern collector than the *shash lanis* of his predecessors; and such, indeed, is the inference the comparative number of intrinsic grains of silver in the immediate contrast would seem to point to, but this is a branch of the inquiry which is more important in its relative than in its direct bearing upon the leading question of the Dehli mintages, and, as such, may be reserved for comment hereafter in its proper place, in connexion with the issues of Sikandar bin Buhlól and the *black tankahs* of Tirkút in Babar's returns. But the most curious fact contributed by the

extant Jaunpur coins consists in their testimony to the diverse metric systems obtaining in closely proximate localities at this period. The monetary standard of Imperial Dehli is now pretty well ascertained, and coincidently evidence is afforded of the gradations of current Bazar weights and measures. The local Eastern Mint clearly coined money of a higher average weight both in copper and in gold. In the latter metal we recognize *the* tolah of 180 grains, which our early English officials too readily accepted as the normal weight for all India. Col Guthrie's gold coin No *f* absolutely exceeds this ponderary measure by a small fraction, and the piece itself, though defective as a work of art, is as sharp in its edges as if it had received its stamp but yesterday. The other specimens in gold, Nos *a*, *b*, equally advance in a marled degree beyond the limited 175 grains of the assumed Dehli standard.

*Assays of Muhammadan Coins*¹

	No melted.	Mean weight. grs	+ weight grs	Total Silver grs	Average Silver grs	
Ibrāhīm .	10	140 2	145	130	13 0	
Mahmūd ..	9	142 66	—	113	11 3	
Husain (1st)	4	149 0	152	13 5	3 4	} Mean of 110 coins in 3 assays, 3 34 grains
„ (2nd)	96	—	—	299 0	3 125	
„ (3rd)	10	—	—	35 0	3 5	

¹ I preserve the returns of some other assays which General Cunningham has simultaneously favoured me with, though they do not correctly belong to this section of Indian currencies, but as they form a portion of his table, they range themselves more consistently under the present association than they would amid independent analyses undertaken with a different object in view.

Alā ud-dīn Khiljī Small name in circle (No 136 <i>supra</i>)	154 coins	} Mean weight. 52 218	+ 56	Silver 398	Silver 2 584	grs. each.
Ditto, silvery looking (No 136 <i>supra</i>)	10 coins					
Sikandar Lodi	76 coins					
1st	38	139 58	142	167	} Mean of 2 assays, 4 18 grs each.	
2nd	38	134 47	144	161		

TWENTY-SEVENTH RULER (A.H. 815-817; A.D. 1412-1414).

On the death of Mahmúd, in Rajab, A.H. 815, the notables of Dehli elected Daulat Khán Lodi to be their leader, and pledged their instant adhesion accordingly. To judge from the narrative of the best informed and nearly contemporary historian,¹ there was no pretence of assumption of royalty, nor were any of the ceremonies of coronation or less formal investiture gone through upon this occasion. It was necessary to have some acknowledged head of the military oligarchy of the narrowed section of the country which still owned Dehli as its capital; and a recognition of the most powerful among the chiefs,—such as had sufficed for all purposes of government under Mullú Iḥbál Khán,—to the utter disregard of the fiction of a king, was perhaps, under the peculiar circumstances, the wisest course that could have been pursued.

Daulat Khán's position was further strengthened for the time by the cohesion of Mubárah Khán and Malik Idrís, who had lately supported Khizr Khán, Tímúr's governor of Dai-balpúr, etc. However, the utmost the new ruler of Dehli was able to accomplish was a military promenade, in Muharram, 816 A.H., by the route of Katéhr² and Bisáuli,³ leaving

¹ The author of the *Tárikh-i Mubárah Sháhi*.

² The *Tárikh-i Mubárah Sháhi* mentions that "Rái Harung and other Ráis of Katéhr (کتیر : *s.* Rohilkand) met Daulat Khán on this occasion, and tendered their submission." Nizám-ud-din and Ferishtah have "Narsing" (نarsing) (1. 595) See also Elliot's Glossary, i. 171, 307, ii. 150, and Elliot's Index (1849), i. 192.

³ This was the site of Firúz Sháh's latest Firúzpur, seven kós from Badáon, which was quaintly entitled by the people of the land *Akhirpur*, "the last city"—Ferishtah. Elliot's Bibliographical Index, p. 330

Ibrahim of Jaunpur to continue undisturbed the siege of Kalpi, Daulat Khan returned to Dehli, where, after suffering a four months' siege in the fort of Siri, he finally surrendered to Khizr Khan on the 7th of Rabi'ul awwal, A H 817

Daulat Khan *Lodi* having refrained from assuming the honours of royalty, *ipso facto* admitted his disability to coin money in his own name

The posthumous coins bearing the names of Firuz Shah or those of other members of his family, struck under the presidency of Daulat Khán *Lodi*, may be recapitulated as follows —

1 Positive issues from the Mint of Daulat Khan *Lodi* during his full domination at Dehli —Nos 238, A H 816, and 280, A H 816

2 Possible issues during the initial or concluding years of his power —Nos 238 and 270, A H 817, and 280, A H 815

TWENTY EIGHTH RULER (A H 817-824, A D 1414-1421)

Khizr Khan first appears in the political arena of northern Hindustan as governor of Multan under Firuz Shah. In the various complications consequent upon that monarch's subdued later life and the discordant heritages he left behind him, we only regain sight of Khizr Khan, in the general history of the day, when Sárang Khán, the brother of the all powerful Mulla Ikbál Khán besieges and captures him in his own stronghold of Multan in 798 A H. Escaping from his imprisonment, Khizr Khán seeks refuge at Biána, and in process of time, when Timur is on his way to Dehli, he casts his fortune with the alien invader. On the final

departure of these Tatár hordes, who pretended to no interest in the land they had devastated and ruined within the limits of their providentially confined track, this complacent 'Syud' was left to resume his former holdings, and eventually, not without effort, he succeeded in installing himself in the capital on the surrender of Daulat Khán Lódi in 817 A H. His seven years' tenure of power in his new position present but few incidents of mark. there is a seeming Oriental want of energy to sustain an accomplished triumph, an air of ease which so often stole over the senses of a successful owner of a Palace in Dehli, and so his vazir and deputy, *Taj ul Mulk*, went forth to coerce or persuade, as occasion might dictate, the various independent chiefs, whether Muslim or Hindu, whose states now encircled the reduced boundaries of the old Pathán kingdom. There were, of course, the ordinary concessions to expediency, so well understood in the East, submission for the moment in the presence of a superior force, insincere professions of allegiance, temporizing payments of tribute, or desertion of fields and strongholds easily regained, but there was clearly no material advance in public security or in the supremacy of the central government. The inevitable law of nature had, no doubt, been asserting itself anew in the ready recovery of the influence of the free Hindu tribes as against the effete dominancy of the domesticated Muslims, but this process had been in continuous action from the day that the thin wedge of Muhammadanism first thrust itself amid the overwhelming population of India, whose almost Chinese attachment to ancient ideas would have resisted far more persuasive arguments than the sharpest edge of a scimeter, or the most eloquent exhortations of the latest inspired preacher of Islam. Added to this nominally antagonistic element,

there had intervened in higher quarters an amalgamative process of intermarriage with Hindú females, and an admission of Hindú converts, upon very easy terms, to all the honours of Muhammadan nobility; so that any prestige the conquering race might once have claimed was altogether subdued, if not degraded, in these inconsistent concessions; and it required something more revolutionary than the accession of a local Syud to perpetuate a new dynasty.

Khizr Khán died at Dehli on the 17th of Jumáda'l awwal, A.H. 824.

A curious numismatic myth has hitherto been associated with the chieftanship of Khizr Khán, inasmuch as it had been asserted by Ferishtah that he coined money in the name of his patron, Tímúr.¹ A more careful examination of the leading versions of the Indian historians, combined with the testimony of extant coins, summarily disposes of this fable. Ferishtah clearly derived this statement from Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad; and looking closely into the Persian text of the latter author, it is seen to be almost a verbatim copy of the narrative of the *Tárikh-i Mubárah Sháhi*, with this remarkable exception, that the passage respecting Khizr Khán's refrain-

¹ "He refrained from assuming royal titles, and gave out that he held the government for Tímúr, in whose name he caused the coin to be struck and the Khutba to be read. After the death of Tímúr, the Khutba was read in the name of his successor, Sháh Rokh Mirza, to whom he sometimes even sent tribute at his capital of Samarkand."—Briggs's *Ferishtah*, vol. 1 p. 508.

Abul Fazl followed Ferishtah in this error.

"Khizr Khán, out of gratitude to his benefactor, Tímúr, did not assume the title of Sultán, but continued to have the Khotbah read in the name of that monarch, contenting himself with being styled Ayáut Aála, or the Most High in Dignity. At the death of Tímúr, the Khotbah was read in the name of his successor, Sháh Rokh, concluding with a prayer for the prosperity of Khizr Khán."—Gladwin's *Ayn i Akbari*

ing from assuming the title of king and holding himself as a vassal of Tímúr and Sháh Rúkh,¹ proves to be a gratuitous interpolation of the later epitomist, the concluding portion of which assertion is not adopted or received by his better-informed contemporary, 'Abd ul Kádir *Badaoni*, who rightly confines his statement to the non-assumption of the titles of róyalty.

As regards the numismatic aspect of the controversy, nothing could be more conclusive against any notion that Tímúr's title was emblazoned on the Indian coinage for many years after he had left the country, than the appearance of specimens of Dehli mintages, in more or less sustained order, bearing the names of Firúz Sháh and other duly-installed monarchs of his race, dated in full figures, and embracing several of the absolutely identical seven years during which Khizr Khán was master of the capital.

In short, Khizr Khán, in imitation of the practice already sanctioned by Mullú Ikbal, and more definitively recognized by Daulat Khán Lódi, issued money in the names, sometimes with the available original obverse dies, of his formally-crowned predecessors. It mattered little to one who did not care to call himself a king, whose superscription was placed on the public money,—his duty was confined to authorizing the

¹ "Notwithstanding his possessing the substantial power and authority of a king, he never assumed the title, but called himself Amír 'Ala. He allowed the coin to be stamped and the Khutbah to be read in the name of Amír Tímúr, and subsequently in that of Mirzá Sháh Rúkh, but at last the people used to read the Khutbah in Khizr Khán's name, and to include him in their blessings."—Nizám ud din Ahmad, *Tabakát-i Akbari*; Elliot's Index (1849), p. 192

The author of the *Tárikh-i Mubárak Sháhí* never thinks of calling Khizr Khán by the title of Sultán. He is ordinarily entitled *ممسد عالي*, but after his accession *رايات اعلي* (واسم پادشاهي بر خود تجويز كرد رايات اعلي) *حظاب يافت* Badáoni, Calcutta text, p. 285

legality of the new issues by so much of his attestation, as was implied in the annual date recorded on the reverse, which indicated one of *the* few years during which he was the responsible head of the provisional government of the country,—a system, indeed, which the East India Company, of their own free will, imitated with much credit and simplicity by striking their Rupees in the name of Sháh 'Álam and other defunct monarchs of Dehli, whose money had of old obtained good repute in the local Bázárs. But as the progressive annual dates, which were needed to test the good faith of Oriental princes, came, in process of time, to be a source of confusion and an opportunity for money-changers, the Government adopted the expedient of selecting the best current coin of the day, and based their standard upon its intrinsic value; and so the immutable date of “the xix *san* (year) of Sháh 'Álam,” came to figure upon our much-prized “Sicca Rupees”¹

TWENTY-NINTH KING (A.H. 824-837, A.D. 1421-1433)

The reign of Mubárák Sháh II (*Mu'izz ud din*) has had the advantage of a special biographer,—an author of more than usual merit, a careful epitomist of the initial history of the Muslims in India, a conscientious and exact narrator of the events of the later period, of which he had exceptional sources of knowledge, and a living witness of the personal government of his patron and that of his immediate predecessor, as well as of the introductory portion of the reign

¹ Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities, Useful Tables*, pp. 2, 3, 24, 48, 74

of Muhammad bin Faríd.¹ But the most graphic historian, ancient or modern, could have produced but little instructive matter out of the thirteen years of provincial warfare that the newly-instituted Sultán of Dehli was doomed to encounter.

If Mubárah Sháh did not fight his own battles, he had to accompany his own armies at all times, and against all manner of adversaries; the more potent monarchs of Jaunpúr and Málwah affected his essential political position less than the fatal heritage of the Panjáb provinces, from which his father had gone forth to the bootless conquest of Dehli. In effect, the revered capital of the successors of Muhammad bin Sam had long since lost its prestige in India, and Tímúr's invasion merely put a finishing stroke to the supremacy of the old Hindú reverence for the "Owners of Elephants,"² or the

¹ The author of the *Túrikh-i Mubárah Sháhs* gives us his own name and parentage in full in his preface as يحيى بن أحمد بن عبد الله السبكي رضى

associated with his dedication in all form to the مالك ملوك العرب والعجم

الوائق بتأييد الرحمن معز الدنيا والدين أبو الفتح مبارك شاه السلطان

The work itself is very rare, and none of our collectors of MSS seem to have secured an original copy, even Sir H Elliot himself, whose MS I have had to rely upon for my quotations, only obtained a secondary transcript, from an unidentified text, made by one of his own *Munshis*, who was neither a good calligraphist nor careful or critical in his reproduction of doubtful names. As I have before remarked, the author closely follows Shams-i Siráj in the early portion of his history, and with regard to his own independent composition in the entire work, this division has been so largely taken advantage of by subsequent authors, that the chief value of the recovered original consists in its enabling us to check and restore the doubtful passages that have crept into the recensions of later compilers. The modern copy made for Sir H Elliot concludes somewhat abruptly with Muhammad bin Faríd's preparations for the march to Multán, in Rabi'ul ákhir, A.H. 838. I have been careful not to anticipate Sir H Elliot's biographical notice of this author, which will probably appear in the fourth volume of his "Historians."—See Briggs's *Ferishtah*, 1 p. xlix, Badáoni, Calcutta text, p. 7, J.R.A.S. III. N.S., p. 455.

² गज पति *Gaj pati*, "Lord of Elephants," a King

more material purchasing power of the royal treasuries, the northern Barbarian took care to empty. Under these conditions, Mubarak Sháh might make minor demonstrations against the Hindú Zamíndárs of Katehr, or recover balances of tribute within a very limited semicircle south of Dehli, but his real complications were dependent upon the movements of those indomitable "Kokars" (Ghakkars) over whom Tímúr himself had obtained but nominal victories,¹ or the still more exhausting repetition of Tátár raids, organized by Sháh Rúkh's governor of Kábul, under the guidance of that false slave *Fulád*, whose intrigues were initiated in near proximity to Dehli itself.

Mubarak was murdered within the sacred precincts of the Mosque of the new city of Mubarakpúr,² which he had

¹ Elliot's *Historians*, iii pp 415, 416, 473, 474, 485, 520, George Campbell, *Jour As Soc. Bengal*, 1866, p 96

² The site of Mubarakpúr is not fully determined; those who desire to place it about half-way, in a direct line, between "Shapor and Roshun Serai," of Colonel McKenzie's map, are met by the fact that it is definitely stated to have been built on the Jumna. Nothing, indeed, can be more clear than the statement of the author of the *Táríkh-i Mubarak Sháh*, who absolutely witnessed the laying the foundations of the city in question, and who places it immediately on the banks of the river. His statement is as follows —

بادشاه عالمپاد را اتفاق شد كه شېري در كرانه از لب آب جون
نا كند هفدهم ماد ربيع الاول سه ساع و ثلثين و ثمانمايه شېري در
خراب آباد و نيانساد نهاد و آن شهر شوم را ماركآباد نام نهاد

(See also his copyists, Nizâm ud-dîn Ahmad, MS, and Badâoni, Calcutta text, p 297). Under these circumstances, I am inclined to think that the site of the intended city should be looked for near the existing emplacement of the tomb of Khizr Khân (or *خضر كي كسى*) in Mouzah *Ukhala* (اوكله) (Syud Ahmad, p 41). I do not feel any difficulty in regard to the present village or "Mubarakpúr," which in all probability only derived its modern name, as in the case of the village of the "Hauz i Khâs," from the ancient monument, the tomb of Mubarak still standing within its boundaries — See Syud Ahmad, pp.

founded on the banks of the Jumna, by some Hindu assassins, instigated to their task by his own *vazir*, Sarwar ul Mulk. The date of this event is fixed by his biographer as the 9th of Rajab, A H 837

No 287 Silver Weight, 174 grs A H 833, 835, 837

Very rare Mr E C Bayley

Obverse—می صد السلطان العاری المتوکل علی الرحمن مبارک شاد
سلطان

Reverse—می رسن الامام امر المومسن خلدت خلافتہ ۸۳۵

No 288 Silver and Copper Weight, 172 grs

A H 833, 834, 835, 837

Obverse { Area, مبارک شاد
Margin, سلطان صریت محضرت دہلی

Reverse—نائب امر المومسن ۸۳۳

No 289 (pl v fig 154) Copper Weight, 83.5 grs

A H 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838

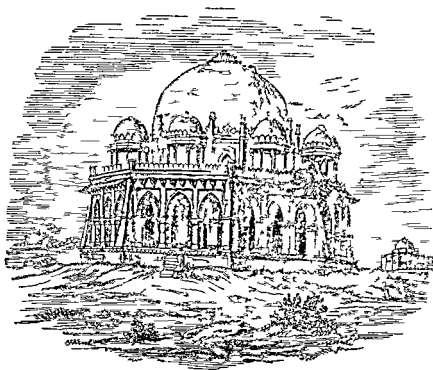
Obverse—سلطان مبارک شاد

Reverse—دارالملک دہلی ۸۳۲

No 290 Copper Weight, 40 grs

Obverse—مبارک شاد

Reverse— . صریت



TOMB OF MUHAMMAD BIN FARÍD AT DEHLÍ¹

The usual form of a Pathán tomb will be understood from the accompanying woodcut. It consists of an octagonal apartment about 50 feet in diameter surrounded by a verandah following the same form each face being ornamented by three arches of the styled pointed form generally adopted by the Patháns. It is supported by double square columns which are almost as universal with them as the form of arch. It is evidently a reminiscence of the Hindú art from which the style sprang.—Fergusson's *Handbook of Architecture* vol. i. p. 633

THIRTIETH KING (A. H. 837–847, A. D. 1433–1443)

Within a few hours of the murder of Mubárak Sháh, the perfidious *Varír* had formally proclaimed another monarch, in the person of Muhammad bin Faríd, a grandson of Khizr

¹ My authority for the assignment of this Tomb to Muhammad bin Faríd is derived from the testimony of that most experienced of all our archaeological explorers of ancient Dehlí Syud Ahmad Khán C. S. I. His account of the edifice is to be found at p. 42 of the *Asár us Sunadeed*, and *Journal Asiatique* (1850) p. 417

Khán, whom the late Sultán had already adopted.¹ Sarwar ul Mulk, however, had no intention that the new king should exercise any real power in the State, and unscrupulously proceeded to possess himself of the royal treasures and equipments, and to distribute the most important posts among his own creatures. A government thus constituted could boast but few elements of permanency; other men could plot and intrigue, and the Muslim nobles were not yet prepared to accept a Hindú dictator, who made no scruple in advancing men of his own creed to all the more influential offices. A strong combination was speedily formed, which, after some varied successes, reduced the *Vazir* to stand a siege within the walls of Síri. In this crisis his puppet Sultán endeavoured to emancipate himself by entering into negotiations with the besiegers; but Sarwar ul Mulk, obtaining intimation of this proceeding, determined to deprive his adversaries of the prestige of a royal coadjutor, by getting rid of his own protégé; but here, again, there were plots and counterplots, and the *Vazir's* assassin band was met by a stronger party of loyal adherents, by whom they were cut to pieces, a fate which was shared by Sarwar ul Mulk himself.

Muhammad bin Farid seems for a brief period to have infused some energy into his administration, but the effort was short-lived, and we soon find him subsiding into sensual pleasures and utter neglect of his duties as a king. The inevitable result was soon apparent in the total disorganization of the country, and the opportunity offered to the am-

¹ Nizám-ud-din Ahmád, and after him severally Badáoni, Abúl Fazl, and Ferishtah, have confessed to a difficulty about the parentage of this monarch. The *Rubric* heading in Sir H. Elliot's MS. copy of the *Tárikh-i Mubárak Sháhi* is clear as محمد شاد بن فرید شاد بن خضر شاد السلطان, in exact accord with the tenor of the coin legends.

bition of neighbouring monarchs, which was quickly taken advantage of by Ibráhím of Jaunpúr, who possessed himself of several districts bordering on his own dominions, and Mahmúd *Khulji* of Málwah went so far as to make an attempt on the capital. To extricate himself from this pressing difficulty, the Sultán called in the aid of one who was destined to play a leading part in the events of his day, Buhlól Lódi, at this time nominal governor, though virtual master of the dependencies of Láhor and Sirhind. By his assistance, the king was relieved from his immediate danger, and the protecting subject was dignified with the title of Khán Khánán (first of the nobles). Buhlól's next appearance is in a somewhat altered character, as besieger of Dehlí itself, and the adversary of the monarch he had lately saved; he was not however successful. Muhammad died in 847.¹

No. 291. Gold. Weight, 176 grs. Unique. Mr. E. C. Bayley.

Obverse—السلطان ابوالمحماد محمدشاه فریدشاه خضرشاه

Reverse—في زمن الامام اميرالمومنين خلدت خلافته

No 292. Silver Weight, 175 grs. A. H. 846. Very rare.

Mr. E. C. Bayley.²

Obverse—السلطان ابوالمحماد محمدشاه فریدشاه خضرشاه سلطانى

Reverse—في زمن الامام اميرالمومنين خلدت خلافته ٨٤٦

¹ There is an unimportant conflict of evidence in regard to the exact date of the death of Muhammad bin Faríd. Ferishtah had succeeded in getting his record wrong by two years, by the process of post-dating Muhammad's accession by that amount, but he makes a less venial mistake in insisting upon a twelve years' reign in spite of his own expressed figures of from "839 to 849" A. H. (Briggs, pp 532, 539). Badáoní also, who is correct in the given dates of accession and death, as 837-847 A. H., insists upon adding that Muhammad reigned fourteen years (Calcutta text, pp 300, 304). Nizám-ud-din Ahmad, on the contrary, is exact in his dates, and consistent in the assignment of a ten years' reign.

² The silver coin (No. D CCXXXVII. p 545) attributed by Mareden to this Sultán is incorrectly assigned.

No 293 (pl v. fig 156) Silver and Copper Weight, 142 grs
 A H 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847

Obverse—سلطان محمد شاد بن فرید شاد محسرت دہلی

Reverse—الحلیۃ امیر المومنین خلعت ۸۴۶

No 294 Copper Weight, 136 grs A H 844 Rare

Obverse { Area, محمد شاد
 Margin, سلطان صرت محسرت

Reverse—نایب امیر المومنین ۸۴۴

No 295 (pl v fig 157) Copper Weight, 85 grs
 A H 837,¹ 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847.

Obverse—محمد شاد سلطان

Reverse—دار الملک دہلی ۸۴۲

No 296 Copper Weight, 33½ grs

Obverse—محمد شاد

Reverse—محسرت دہلی

¹ This very early specimen of Muhammad bin Farid's coinage is the property of Major Stubbs. The last two figures are indisputable, and the first stroke of the v is sufficiently pronounced to satisfy the present reading. On closer examination, I find that I have a coin of 837 A.H. in my own collection, and General Cunningham's cabinet, lately made over to Colonel Guthrie, contains a third example of the date in question.

THIRTY FIRST KING (A H 847-855, A D 1443-1451)

The 'Ala ud din bin Muhammad of the historians, who is entitled 'Alam Shah on the current money, succeeded his father in 847 A H. His accession was not, however, recognized by Buhlol Lodi, whose obedience the new Sultan was in no position to enforce. The first acts of the public life of this prince clearly manifested to his subjects that they had little to expect from a monarch who, in their own terms, was less efficient than his own father. In 851 A H, Buhlol Lodi made a second attempt on the city of Dehli, but with as little success as before, and shortly afterwards the Sultan determined upon the unwise measure of removing his capital to Badaon. His motives for this change do not appear very obvious, as it was effected in the face of the advice of his whole Court. It would seem as if he hoped for some fancied security which he did not feel at Dehli, to which the boundaries of so many adverse chiefs had attained an inconvenient proximity¹. To complete his own

¹ Buhlol Lodi was raised to the throne by a confederacy of six or seven great Afghan chiefs. At the period when this confederacy was formed, the empire of Dehli had really ceased to exist, having been broken down into a variety of kingdoms and principalities. Of all the former vast empire Dehli alone with a small territory around it was held by the Syud Sultan Ala ud din the nominal sovereign. The more considerable provinces Multan Jaunpur Bengal Malwah and Gujarat had each its separate king. The provinces around Dehli were in the condition emphatically called *Mulúk-i-Tawáif* or governments of tribes. Mahról and Mewat, to within seven *cos* of Dehli were in the hands of Ahmad Khan of Méwát. On the opposite side Sambhal to the very suburbs of Dehli was occupied by Daria Khan Lodi, Kol Jaleswar, in the Doáb by Isa Khan Türk Rapri and its dependences by Kutb Khan Afghan. Kampala and Patnauli by Raja Partap Singh Biána, by Dadd Khan Lodi. Buhlol himself possessed the extensive provinces of Láhor Dabulpur and Sirhind as far south as Paniput. —Ereking's Lives of Baber and Humayún: 400

ruin, the Sultān allowed himself to be persuaded to disgrace his *cazir*, Hamid Khān, who, escaping to Dehli, quickly welcomed the powerful Buhlōl Lodī, who at once, on becoming master of the capital, assumed the title of Sultān, somewhat strangely, however, retaining 'Ālam Shah's name in the *khutbah* ¹ Not long after this, 'Ālam Shah offered to concede the empire to Buhlōl, on condition of being permitted to reside in peace at Badāon no difficulty was made in taking advantage of this proposal, and from this time Buhlōl is reported to have rejected the name of 'Ālam Shāh from the public prayers, and the latter was allowed to enjoy his insignificant obscurity undisturbed till his death in 883 A H

No 297 (pl v fig 159) Silver and Copper Weight, 146 grs
A H 851, §53 Rare

Obverse—سلطان المشاد بن محمد شاد محبت دہلی

Reverse—الحکمہ امیر المومنین جلد جلد ۸۰۳

No 298 Silver and Copper Small coins similar in fabric and legends

No 299 Silver and Copper Small coin of similar type to No 297, but inserting ضرب دہلی on the obverse

No 300 Copper Weight 135 grs A H §53 Rare

Obverse { Centre, عالمشاد
{ Margin illegible

Reverse—نائب امیر المومنین ۸۰۳

No 301 (pl v fig 160) Copper Weight 66 grs
A H 852 853, §54 Rare

Obverse—عالمشاد سلطان

Reverse—دارالملک دہلی ۸۰۳

¹ Nizam ud-dīn and Badaoni do not give any sanction for this statement of Fenshtah

No 302 Copper. Weight, 46 grs Rare

Obverse—سلطان عالمشاد بن محمد شاه بخترت دہلی

Reverse— . . . الخليفة امير المؤمنين

I avail myself of the break in the continuity of my leading subject afforded by a change in the dynasty of the ruling power at Dehli, to advert briefly to the coins of the contemporary Muhammadan kingdoms of Kulbarga, Málwah, and Gujarát, whose independence, in the one case, grew out of Muhammad bin Tughlak's difficulties towards the close of his reign, and in the others, took their rise from the weakness of the government of Firúz's successors in the old capital of the Patháns. As in the previous instance of the severed Jaunpúr line, I propose to confine the present numismatic illustrations to representative or otherwise remarkable specimens of these confessed offshoots of the imperial coinage, subordinating, in smaller type, the more ample outline of each local series immediately within reach.

I THE BARMANI KINGS OF THE DAKHAN.¹

پادشاهان حساآباد كلركه واحمدآباد بدر سلطان بنميه

NO A.H. A.D.²

1 748 1347 Hasan Gango شاه علا الدين حسن كاكوي بنميه

2 759 1358 Muhammad Sháh, Ghazí محمد شاه بن سلطان علا الدين
حسن كاكوي بنميه عاري

¹ Ferishtah, Bombay Persian Text, i pp 525, 730, Briggs's Ferishtah, ii. p 283, Captain Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas (1826), i p 50 *et seq.*, Prinsep's Essays—Useful Tables, p 314; Elphinstone's History of India, Appendix, p 755, Elliot's Index, pp 331-336

² The parallel dates here entered are designedly more reserved in their definitions than the leading scheme of comparative Hijrah and Christian eras propounded at page 6, *supra*. If difficulties environed the specification of exact days and months in the one case, they more distinctly counsel an equal reserve in subordinate and more obscure records

NO A H A D

1

3	776	1375	Mujahid Shah	مجاهد شاه بن محمد شاه
4	780	1378	Dāud Shah	داود شاه بن علاالدین حس
5	780	1378	Mahmud Shah I (<i>Muhan mad on the co ns</i>)	محمود شاه بن علاالدین حس
6	799	1397	Ghāas ud dīn	عباس لددین بن محمود شاه
7	799	1397	Shams ud dīn	شمس الدین بن محمود شاه
8	800	1397	Fīruz Shah (<i>Roz Afzun</i>)	فرور شاه بهمی الملک برورافزون شاه بن داود شاه
9	825	1422	Ahmad Shāh I.	احمد شاه ولی بهمی بن داود شاه
10	838	1435	'Ala ud dīn (Ahmad) II	علاالدین بن احمد شاه
11	862	1457	Humayun (<i>Zalim</i>)	ولد سلطان علا الدین المشور بهمایون شاه ظالم
12	865	1461	Nizam Shah	نظام شاه بن بهمایون شاه
13	867	1463	Muhammad Shah II	شمس الدین محمد شاه بن بهمایون شاه
14	887	1482	Mahmud Shah II	محمود شاه بن محمد شاه
15	924	1518	Ahmad Shah II.	احمد شاه بن محمود شاه
16	927	1520	'Ala ud dīn III	علاالدین شاه بن احمد شاه
17	1522		Walī ullah	شاه ولی الله بن محمود شاه
18	1525		Kalīm ullah	شاه کلیم الله بهمی بن محمود شاه

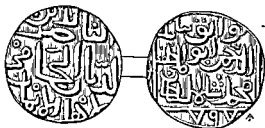
At the period of Hasan Gango's death, the dominions of the Muhammadans in the Dakhan extended over nearly all Mahārāshtra, a small portion of Telangana, together with Raichor and Mudgul in the Carnatic. When Muhammad Shah succeeded to the throne, he divided the kingdom into four parts, or *tarafs*. In the course of 130 years the territory had been greatly increased by con-

quests, and under Muhammad Sháh II. a new division was proposed, according to the following outline:—

OLD DIVISIONS.	NEW DIVISIONS
I. Kulbarga.....	1 Bījapúr.
	2 Ahsanábád.
*II. Daulatábád	3 Daulatábád.
	4 Junír.
III. Telingana.....	5 Rajamundri.
	6 Warangol.
IV Berár.....	7 Gawel
	8 Mahúr.

Out of these governments arose the several dynasties of 'Adil Sháhi, Nizám Sháhi, Kutb Sháhi, Imád Sháhi, and Baríd Sháhi.¹

No. 303. Silver. Weight, 165 grs. Very rare. Col. Guthrie
A.H. 797.



No 304 Silver Gen A Cunningham Very rare

A H 856



ابوالمظفر علا
الدينا و الديس احمد
شاه بن احمد شاه
الولي المسمى

٨٥٦



السلطان
الحاج المكرم
زوق على عباد الله
العلي احمد

Ferishtah, who was learned in Southern story, contributes some curious information in regard to the difficulties surrounding the early currencies of the Bahmani kings. He states that the money of Muhammad Sháh (A H 769-776) consisted of pieces of four different denominations, in gold and silver, ranging from two *tolahs* to a quarter of a *tolah* in weight,¹ he then proceeds to describe the legends employed, in which we need not follow him beyond his full text quoted below, but he adds an instructive notice of the tendency of the Dakhaní *Sarrafis* to break up the new Muslim

¹ و در سلطان محمد شاه سمي ار قسم طلا و نقره چار كونه بود
ناوران محله سايتهش اردو توله رناده بود و اربع طول كنه و در
يك لوف كلمه طسه شادنت و نام چار يار و در طرف ديكر نام نادشاه

Bombay text, i p 537 خسرو يار بچ وقت ار تسام داش

money for the purpose of reconverting it into coins after their own ideals, bearing Hindú devices. The King is stated to have resorted to extreme measures to repress this practice, but with little effect, until he appears to have given the *Khatris*, who had originally migrated from Dehli with the conquering hosts, the monopoly of verifying the current coin, which incidentally carried with it the far more important prerogative, too well understood *in loco*, of precedence in money-changing.

بموجب حکم کبیران کہ همراه لشکر دہلی در سوات سابقہ
بدکن آمدہ بودند بشغل صرافہ پرداختہ تا اواخر عہد پادشاہان

Bombay text, i. p. 537. بمونیہ زر اسلام رایج و شایع بود

The most important fact to be gathered from this statement is that, in the southern provinces, goldsmiths and dealers in bullion would seem to have been authorized, by prescriptive right, to fabricate money at will on their own account, without being subjected to any check or control on the part of the officials of a *Regal* mint, supposing such an institution to have formed a constituent division of governmental polity among these still primitive nationalities, where intrinsic values were ordinarily checked and determined by the rough process of the *touchstone* of the village *sonár*, or tested by the equally imperfect machinery of the responsible authority in the urban communities, with but little reference to royal or other stamps.¹

¹ I have had within my own experience, in the Saugor and Nerbuddah territories, a striking instance of the direct and personal responsibilities of the officials of the normal village communities, which quaintly illustrates the practical working of this testing process. A son of a village *sondr*, in the uncertainty of human life, succeeded to his father's office before he had had time to acquire the full knowledge of his ancestral craft, and in his new capacity was rash enough to put his *punched* attestation of genuineness upon some 350 rupees that were sub-

BAHMANI COINS

The subjoined skeleton list of the coins of the Bahmani dynasty has been mainly derived from the collection of Gen A Cunningham, which has lately passed into the possession of Col Guthrie. Readily available additions have been made from other sources, but the catalogue is avowedly incomplete, and is only inserted as a serial nucleus, to be filled in hereafter by local collectors. I must avail myself of this opportunity of exonerating Gen Cunningham from any of the errors which may be discovered in *my* transcripts of the necessarily obscure legends of the coins of this or of the other provincial dynasties now restored from the original pieces.

The contents of these cabinets were delivered in due numismatic order, but the interpretation of the legends did not, even if time had permitted, constitute an obligational part of the transfer to the new owner.

6 MUHAMMAD SHĀH Silver A.H. 794, 795 (Sir W Elliot, 797)
(Engraved above)

8 FĪRŪZ SHĀH (AHSANĀBĀD) Silver A.H. 804, 807, 810, 813, 814, 817,
818, 819, 822, 823 Marsden, pl. 38, fig. DCCCLXVIII

Obverse—سلطان العبد والرومان الوائق سائيد الرحمن ابو المطر

Reverse—تاج الدنيا والدين مرور شاد السلطان ٨٠٤

Copper *Obverse*—مرور شاد بهمي *Reverse*—راحي رضوان مسمي

10 'ALĀ UD DĪN AHMAD SHĀH Silver A.H. 845 (Sir W Elliot, 856)
(Engraved above)

Copper A.H. 825, 828, 834

المصور بصر الله المتان ابو المعاري احمد شاد سلطان ٨٢٥

Copper A.H. 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 854 Large coins

Obverse—المعصم بالله المتان سمي حليل الرحم ابو المطر

Reverse—علا الدنيا والدين احمد شاد بن احمد شاد السلطان ٨٢٣

mitted to him for examination by members of his own special community. As these pieces proved one and all, to be forgeries the ordinary homely rule required him to replace every rupee he had so incautiously put his hand to—it is needless to say that he was hopelessly ruined. See also Prinsep, Useful Tables, p. 27.

Small coins have Obverses varying from *to المتوكل على الله العى*
الرائق بتأيد الملك

11 HUMÁYÚN SHÁH BIN AHMAD SHÁH Silver A.H. 863 British Museum
Obverse— المتوكل على الله العوى العى ابو المعارى

Reverse— علا الدسا و الدين همايون شاد بن احمد شاد بن احمد شاد—
 الولى السمسى ٨٦٣

13 MUHAMMAD SHÁH BIN HUMÁYÚN SHÁH (SHAMS UD-DÍN)
 Silver A.H. 880 (Sir W. Elliot)

14 MAHMUD Copper (No dates.)

II KINGS OF MALWAH AND MANDÚ¹

NO	A.H.	A.D.		
1	804	1401	Dilawar Khan, <i>Ghori</i>	دلوار خان عورى
2	808	1405	Hushang (Founds' Mándú) ²	سلطان هوشك عورى
3	838	1434	Muhammad	محمد شاد بن سلطان هوشك عورى
4	839	1435	Mahmud <i>Khilji</i> (defeated by Bahlol Lódi)	سلطان محمود خلجى
5	887	1482	Ghias ud dín <i>Khilji</i>	سات الدين بن سلطان محمود خلجى
6	906	1500	Nasir ud dín <i>Khilji</i>	ناصر الدين بن سات الدين
7	916	1510	Mahmud II (Muzaffar Shah Gujarati aids him in 923 A.H.)	محمود بن ناصر الدين

(A.H. 937, Malwah annexed by Bahádur Gujarati)

The Muslim state of Malwah was at its zenith under Muhammad Khilji. At this period its boundaries embraced the cities of Chanderi, Islamábad, Hushangabad, and Kirlah (the capital of Gondwarra) extending on the south to the Satpurah range, on the west to the

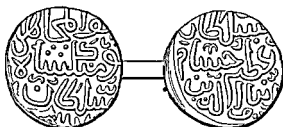
¹ Ferishtah, Persian text, ii p. 360 Briggs's translation iv p. 167 Ain-i-Akbari, ii 53-63 Malcolm's Central India (1835), i 28, Scott's Deccan, etc

² Lat 22° 20', long 75 27

frontier of Gujarat, and on the east to Bundelkhand, while northwards the limits were marked by Mewar and Harauti, with occasional tribute from Chitor¹

Husám-ud dín Hushang Ghori

No 305 Silver Weight, 169 grs *Unique* Col Tod's
collection, Royal Asiatic Society A H 824



ابوالمجاهد

هوشكشاه

السلطان

٨٢٤

السلطان

الاعظم حسام

الدنيا و الدين

'Ala ud dín Mahmud, *Khatibi*

No 306 Gold A H 870



و الدين محمود

شاه الحلي حلد الله

سلطان

٨٧

السلطان الا

عظم ابوالمطر

علا الدنيا

¹ Malcolm's Central India, i. p. 34

MALWAH COINS

This list has also been compiled from the contents of Col Guthrie's cabinet, comprising the careful selections of Gen Cunningham, obtained through many years of diligent research

2 HUSĀM UD DĪN HÚSHANG GHÓRI Silver (Coin engraved above)

Copper دوشكشاد السلطان Reverse—دارالملک

3 Copper بی السارج ۸۲۹ Reverse—صرب قلعه پش او حس (?)

4 MAHMÚD a Gold A H 870 (Coin engraved above)

b Gold Square

c Silver and Copper Square Weight, 168 grs A H 820, 826

السلطان الحليم الكريم علا الدسا والدس ۸۲۶

Reverse—Square area ابوالمطر محمود شاد حلجی

d Copper coins of the same device A H 848, 854, 856, 857

e Smaller type A H 800

f Copper A H 845, 847, 848, 851, 857

الحلعه امير المومنين حلد الله حلانده ۸۴۷

ابوالمطر محمود شاد حلجی صرب محصرت شاديآباد

g Silver and Copper Small coins A H 845, 854 (Dehli type)

Obverse—السلطان الامطر علا الدسا والدين ۸۴۵

Reverse—ابوالمطر محمود شاد حلجی صرب محصرت

h Silver and Copper Small coins (Dehli obverses as above)

Reverse { Centre—محمود شاد حلجی
Margin—محصرت

i Small coin Shādiābād A H 873

5 GHÍÁS SHÁH Gold Weight, 168 grs A.H. 887

Obverse—السلطان بن السلطان ولي عهد جلسته الزمان في العالمين

Reverse—ابو الفتح عياث شاه السلطاني الحلبي صرت بدار الملك

شادياناد ٨٨٧

Margin—* * * ابوالمظفر محمود شاه الحلبي

Gold Square Weight, 169 grs A.H. 883, 884 (British Museum 885 888)

الوثن بالملك المملوك ابو الفتح عياث شاه

بن محمود شاه الحلبي السلطان حلد ملكه ٨٨٥

With a full design of the *Suras ila* in the field

Silver Square Weight, 84 grs. A.H. 890 (reversed ٩٨, *sic*), 895 899
British Museum.

Copper A.H. 883, 887, 894, 896, 903, 904 90٥

Copper Small coins. A.H. 883

6 NASIR SHÁH. Silver Square A.H. 907

الوثن بالصدق * * * ابوالمظفر ناصر شاه

بن عياث شاه الحلبي السلطان حلد مملكه

Copper A.H. 907, 914

7 MAHMÚD SHÁH (ALÁ UD-DÍN) Silver

الوثن بالملك السدي ابوالمظفر محمود شاه

بن ناصر شاه الحلبي السلطان حلد مملكه ٩١١

Copper A.H. 917, 918

Copper A.H. 914

III THE MUHAMMADAN KINGS OF GUJARAT¹

NO	A H	A D	
1	778	1376	<i>Farhat ul Mulk</i> , appointed Viceroy by Firuz مرحت الملك ²
2	793	1390	Zafar Khān supersedes him by order of Muhammad bin Firuz, and eventually assumes independence under the title of <i>Mu affar Shah</i> مطهر شاه
3	814	1411	Ahmad Shāh (grandson of Muzaffar Shah) builds Ahmadabad and Ahmadnagar أحمد شاه
4	846	1442	Muhammad Shāh, son of Ahmad Shah محمد شاه الکرم
5	855	1451	Kutb Shah (conflicts with <i>Kumbho</i> , Rana of Mcwar) قطب الدین بن محمد شاه ساری
6	863	1458	Daud Shah, son of Ahmad Shah داود شاه بن احمد شاه
7	863	—	Mahmud Shah bin Muhammad, <i>Bigara</i> محمود شاه بکری
8	917	1511	Muzaffar Shah II (wars with Rana Sanga) مطهر شاه بن محمود شاه
9	932	1525	Sikandar Shah سکندر شاه بن مطهر شاه
10	932	—	Mahmud Shah II bin Muzaffar Shah محمود شاه بن مطهر شاه
11	932	—	Bahadur Shah ³ بادر شاه بن مطهر شاه

¹ Fergusson Bombay Persian text, ii pp 300 440 Briggs i p 456 iv p² *et seq* Badāoni iii. 139 Ain i Akbari ii p 92 Bird's History of Gujarāt p 174 Elphinstone p 761 Prinsep Useful Tables ii p 315³ بعد کشته شدن دامغانی اطاع گجرات بحواله ملک معرج سلطان
گردآمد و مرحت الملك خطاب کرد
—Tārīkh i Mubarak Shāhi MS A H 778⁴ سلطان الرشید البحر⁴ King of the land martyr of the sea Killed at
D 6, in 943 A.H., by the Portuguese —Faria e Souza

NO	A H	A D		
12	943	1536	Muhammad Sháh <i>Farúk</i>	محمد شاه فاروقی
13	944	1537	Mahmud Shah III	محمود شاه بن لطیف خان بن مظفر شاه
14	961	1553	Ahmad Sháh	
15	969	1561	Muzaffar Shah III (<i>Habib</i>)	

Subdivision of the kingdom, and final annexation to Akbar's dominions in A H 980¹

Elphinstone gives the following outline of the possessions of this dynasty —“When Gujarat separated from Dehli, the new king had but a narrow territory on the plain. On the N W were the independent rajas of Jhalor and Sirohi, from whom he occasionally levied contributions. The raja of Idar, another Rajput prince, was in possession of the western part of the hills. The rest of the hilly and forest tract was held by the mountain tribes of Bhils and Kulis, among whom some Rajput princes had founded petty states (Dongarpur, Bhanswarah, etc.) The peninsula was in the hands of nine or ten Hindu tribes who had mostly come from Cach and Sind, at different periods, some centuries before. They were probably tributary, but by no means obedient. The real possessions of the kings of Gujarat, therefore, only included the plain between the hills and the sea, and even of that the eastern part

¹ ‘The whole collection from the government lands and those assigned in Jágir (in A D 1671) was 5 84 00 50 000 or 5 *arabs* 84 *krors* and 50 thousand Gujarat *o kchas* there were in those days 100 *to* *lelas* to a rupee and the same as now (A D 1706) reckoned at 40 *das* so that the whole amount would at the present time be equal to 5 *krors* 47 *laks* of rupees (5 84 00 000 Ed tor s note) A sum also of 25 *laks* of *Huns* and 1 *kror* of *Ibrahimis* that were two parts greater being altogether equal to 5 *krors* 62 *laks* of rupees, was collected annually from the kings of the Dakhan etc —Bird s Gujarát, p 109

The silver currencies of the *Mahmul* and *Muzaffari* of Gujarát and Málwah are noticed in the Ain i Akbari and their intrinsic values specified with reference to other coinages —See Gladwin i p 17, Blochmann i p 23

belonged to the rājā of Chāmpānīr. On the other hand, the Gujarat territory stretched along the sea to the S E, so as to include the city of Surat and some of the country beyond it."

Ahmad Sháh

No 307 Silver Weight, 172 grs A H 828 Col Guthrie



احمد شاه بن محمد شاه
بن مطهر شاه
جلد حلاوته

۸۲۸



السلطان الاعظم
ناصر الدنيا والدين
ابو العنم

Mahmud bin Latif

No 308 Gold Weight, 183 grs A H 960 Col Guthrie



محمود شاه
بن لطف شاه
السلطان

۹۶۰



الوائق بالله المتان
ابو العنم قطب
الدين والدين

GUJARAT COINS

3 NÁSIR UD-DÍN AHMAD Silver

a A.H. 828 (Engraved above)*b* Variety similar to *a*, but with square area on the reverse Weight, 175 gr
Copper Small coins A.H. 843*a* ناصر الدین و احمد شاه السلطان*b* Variety, in two sizes Square area reverse A.H. 830, 831, 837, 840 843,
845, 8464 GHÍÁS UD-DÍN MUHAMMAD. *a* Small coins Copper A.H. 849, 850

علاء الدین و محمد شاه السلطان

b Square coins A.H. 856? Similar legends, with the prefix of
اعظم السلطان on one face and ابوالمحامد on the other

7 MAHMUD Silver A.H. 891, 903, 911

Silver and Copper A.H. 870

Copper A.H. 869, 900, 909, 917

8 MUZAFFAR SHÁH. Gold E.I. collection A.H. 929 Silver

Copper A.H. 922, 923, 924, 928

10 MAHMÚD II Silver

11 BAHADUR (KUTB-UD-DÍN) Silver

Copper A.H. 937, 938, 940

قطب الدین و ابو الفتح

ابو الفتح بادر شاه السلطان

13 MAHMÚD BIN LATIF III. (KUTB-UD-DÍN)

Gold. A.H. 946 947, 950 (960, engraved above)

Silver Struck at Muhammadábád. A.H. 961

Copper A.H. 946, 947, 949

14 AHMAD SHÁH (KUTB-UD DÍN)

Silver A.H. 968

Copper A.H. 961

15 MUZAFFAR SHAH BIN MAHMÚD Gold. Weight, 185 grs A.H. 977

Silver A.H. 969, 970

Copper A.H. 969, 971, 978

المود بايد الرحمن التبر الدین و الدین

مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان ٩٧٧

Another contemporary dynasty, whose history is closely interwoven with the annals of Dehli, Málwah, and Gujarát, claims a passing notice, both for the heroism of its leaders, the interest attaching to the recovery of power by the Hindús, and the re-establishment of a kingdom which might possibly have progressed into a more permanent form had its adversaries been confined to the detached and weakened Muslim monarchies encircling its frontiers, but which was destined to fall, with the surrounding states of hostile creed, before the assaults of the alien Mughals, whom Bábar led into India.

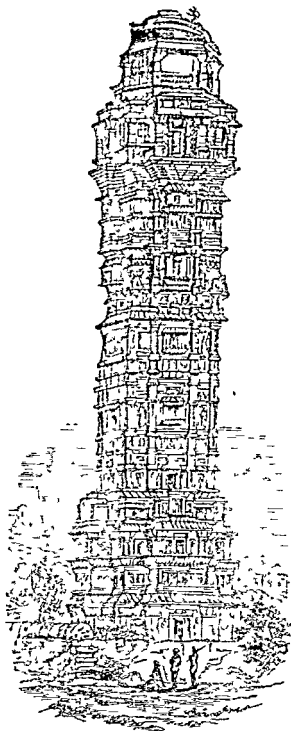
Khumbo's victory over the combined Muhammadan forces of Málwah and Gujarát is commemorated by the costly "pillar of victory," at Chitor, an engraving of which faces this page.¹ And Sanga's valour and success are alike proclaimed by his Hindú title of the "*Kalas* (or pinnacle) of Méwar's glory,"² and as frankly acknowledged in his conqueror's own memoirs.

KHUMBO'S MONUMENTAL "JAYA STAMBHA."

"The only thing in India to compare with this pillar of victory, erected by Rána Khumbo on his defeat of the combined armies of Malwa and Gujarát, is the Kutb Minár at Dehli. This column is 122 feet in height, the breadth of each face at the base is 35 feet. It has nine distinct stories. Around the chamber on the ninth story had been arranged on black marble tablets the whole genealogy of the Ranas of Chitor. Only one slab remains, the inscription on which records that 'in Samvat, 1515, the temple of Brimha was founded, and this year . . . this Khirut Stambha was finished'"—Tod, ii 761. The unjoined engraving is taken from Fergusson's History of Architecture, ii p 635

¹ Another memorial of this success was preserved in the family, and finally passed into the possession of Bábar, who tells us that "when Rána Sanga defeated Sultán Mahmúd and made him prisoner, the Sultán had on a splendid crown cap (*Tidj kulah*) and golden girdle, which fell into the hands of the Pagan, who, when he set Sultán Mahmúd at liberty, returned them. They were now with Bikramajit. His elder brother, Ratansi, who had succeeded to his father as Rána, and who was now in possession of Chitor, had sent to desire his younger brother to give them up to him, which he refused to do. By the persons who now come to wait upon me, he now sent me this crown and golden girdle"—Erskine's Memoirs of Bábar, p 380

² Tod's Rájasthan, i - 200



PILLAR OF VICTORY AT CHITOR.

THE GHILOT KINGS OF MÉWAR.

SAHVAT.	A.D.	
1331	1275	Chitor captured by 'Alá-ud-dín.
1357	1301	Accession of Hamir. He recovers Chitor.
1421	1365	Khaitsi.
1439	1373	Lakha Rána.
1454	1398	Mokulji.
1475	1419	<i>Kumbho</i> . (Defeats the armies of Gujarát and Málwah, and captures Mahmúd Khilji in A.D. 1440.)
1525	1469	Ooda
1530	1474	Raimal
1565	1509	<i>Sanga</i> ¹ (Finally defeated by Bábar, at Kanwa, in 1527 A.D.)

Coins of Rána Kumbho and of his grandson, Sanga, were engraved and published by James Prinsep in 1835.²

No. 309 Copper. Square. Fig. 26. Prinsep.

Obverse—कभक *Kambhaka*, with the symbol \boxplus : dotted margin outside the square area.

Reverse—यकलिंग *Eklunga* (the celebrated temple near Oodipúr).³

¹ *Singram Sing*, "the lion of war"—Tod, i. p. 292

² Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, pl. iv figs 24, 25, 26. See also Prinsep's Essay, vol. i p. 293, pl. xiv. Prinsep was able to decipher only two letters of the name of *Kumbho* कभ. The full reading has been communicated to me by General Cunningham, who is in possession of better specimens of the coins in question.

³ "The strange gods of the Jumna and Ganges have withdrawn a portion of the seal of the Gekhas from their patron divinity Eklunga, whose divan (*Eklung la diwan*) or vice-regent is the Rána. The temple of Eklunga, situated in one of the narrow defiles leading to the capital (six miles north of Oodipúr) is an immense structure, though more sumptuous than elegant. It is built entirely of white marble, most elaborately carved and embellished. . . . The brazen bull, placed under his own dome, facing the sanctuary of the phallus, is nearly of the natural size, in a recumbent posture. It is cast (hollow) of good shape, highly polished, and without flaw, except where the hammer of the Tatar had opened a passage in the hollow of the flank in search of treasure"—Tod, i. pp. 222, 515

The jealousy displayed by Mahmúd Khiljí at Rána Kum-bho's presuming to coin money is amusingly recorded by Fershtah

وهم در آن ایام سلطان محمود خلجی متوجه ولایت حمتور
کردید رانا کوبها از طریق مدار او مواسا پیش آمده پاره زر و نقره
مسکوک پمشکش فرساک و چون آن سکه رانا کوبها داشت باعث
اردیاد عصب محمودی گردیده پمشکش را پس فرساک

—Fershtah, text, II p 495, Briggs, IV p 221

SANGA

No 310 Copper Samvat, 1580, A D 1523 Figs 24 25 Prinsep

Obverse—श्री रण सयमसिंह स १५८० *Sri Sangrama Sinha Sam 1580*

Reverse—Trisul and Swastika emblems

THIRTY SECOND KING (A H 855¹–894, A D 1450–1488)

The vigorous rule of the Afghán Buhlól Lódi offers a strong contrast to the inane weakness of the sway of the two mis called Syuds who preceded him. His lengthened supremacy of thirty-eight years, however, affords but little of variety to dilate upon. The principal characteristics of his domination being defined in the energetic and successful subjection of his local governors, and a prolonged war, marked by the utmost determination on both sides, with the kings of Jaun-

¹ Buhlól's actual accession is fixed, in the History of the Afgháns, edited by Dorn, at 17th Rabi ul awwal, 855 A.H. *Vide* page 46, edit. Oriental Translation Fund. Nizám ud-dín and Badáoní concur

pur for a long time neither one party nor the other can be said to have obtained any very decided advantage, such as might have been expected to result from the great efforts made on either side. The balance of success generally terminated in favour of the monarch of Dehli, and at length, in the year 893 A H, after a twenty six years' war, he finally re-annexed the kingdom of Jaunpur to his own empire. It is recorded of this Sultan, that, unlike Eastern monarchs in general, he was no respecter of pomps and ceremonies, remarking "that it was enough for him that the world knew he was king, without his making a vain parade of royalty."

No 311 (pl v fig 162) Silver (impure) Average weight, 144.4 grs Common A H 858, 859, 860, 861, 863, 876, 879, 882, 887, 888, 889, 890, 892, 893, 895

فی رمس	المتوکل علی
امیر المومنین	الرحمن بھلول
خلدت خلافتہ	شاد سلطان
* * ۲	محسرت دہلی

No 312 Silver and Copper Weight, 52 grs

Obverse—بھلول شاد سلطان محسرت دہلی

Reverse—الحلفہ امیر المومنین خلدت خلافتہ

No 313 Copper Average weight, 71 grs A H 855, 863, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 873, 875, 877, 878, 879, 887, 888

Obverse—بھلول شاد سلطان

Reverse—دار الملک دہلی

No 314 Copper Weight, 67 grs A II 886, 889, 893, 894

Obverse—Legend similar to No 313

Reverse—۸۸۶ * * * الجلسه

No 315 Copper Average weight, 140 grs A II 877, 878, 879, 892

Obverse { Centre—سلول شاد
Margin—السلطان

Reverse—۸۷۷ نایب امر المومنین

I subjoin the results of some assays of coins of Buhlol Lodi and his son Sikandar, conducted under the native process —

1	A II 858	Wt 138 grs	Result—Silver,	0 grs (No 311)
2	A II 859	Wt 143 grs	Result—Silver,	15 3 grs (No 311)
3	A II 882	Wt 145 grs	Result—Silver,	14 grs (No 311)
4	A II 893	Wt. 141 grs	Result—Silver,	6 7 grs (No 311)

Sikandar bin Buhlol

5	A II 904	Wt 136 grs	Result—Silver,	7 grs (No 316)
6	A II 910	Wt 134 grs	{ Assayed together, total result, a mere trace of silver }	(No 316)
7	A II 918	Wt. 139 grs		(No 316)
8	A II 919	Wt 139 grs		(No 316)
9	A II ?	Wt 137 grs	Result—Silver,	5 grs (No 316)

NOTE ON THE COINS OF BUHLOL LODI

Amid the chance references to the cost of articles of every-day consumption and other current prices to be found in the works of Indian authors, who flourished shortly after the reign of Buhlól Lodi, we meet with frequent repetition of the term *Buhlól*, as applied to a recognized and quasi-standard coin of the period¹ Abúl Fazl, the comprehensive

¹ "In Ibráhím bin Sikandar's time, corn, clothes, and every kind of merchandise were cheaper than they had ever been known to be in any other reign,

and whose exact counterpart, singular to say, declares itself in the earliest scheme of Egyptian Metrology under the nearly parallel term, which the hieroglyphics render as 2 KeT.¹

To all appearance the recognized weight retained in full its theoretical place and position in India, though practically as tangible money it is found to be represented by two single *larsha* pieces. Of this latter coin of 140 grains, we can quote continuous examples, ranging from the archaic copper coins of Rāmadatta² to the coarse mintages of the early Pathāns,³ and onwards, in consecutive order, till Buhlól Lódi assimilated their fabric to the type and execution of his mintages in the higher metals; but the vitality and immutability of the ancient measure is proved triumphantly by its acceptance, so to say, intact, in all the minor mints under Bábar,

The Mitāksharā (circa A.D. 1049) defines the *Kārshika* as "measured by a *Karsha* (*Karshenonmita*)," and the copper *Karsha* itself is described as *Tám-rasya Vīlāra*, or "copper transformed," i.e. worked up from its crude metallic state into some generally recognized form.—Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 404, Prinsep's Essays, I. p. 53, G. Buhler, *Bombay Branch Jour Roy As Soc* October, 1868, Cowell, in *Elphinstone*, p. 89, Burnouf, *Intro à l'Hist Bud.* pp. 236, 258, Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 119, etc. *Bombay Jour As Soc* (1853) (1854) p. 1, *Inscriptions*, pp. 3, 9, (1862) p. 1, and (1863) p. 1, *et seq*. See also Yājñavalkya, § 353, *Amara Kosha*, II. pp. 9, 86.

¹ ANCIENT EGYPTIAN WEIGHTS

A	Circa	1400 grains = MeN, or VTeN (Maneh?).
B.	Circa	700 grains = 5 KeT.
C	Circa	280 grains = (2 KeT)
D.	Circa	140 grains = KeT.
E	Circa	70 grains = ($\frac{1}{2}$ KeT).

The copper coins of the Ptolemies follow this standard, their gold and silver standards adhere to the Aeginetan weight.—R. S. Poole, *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, III. p. 1732

² Prinsep's Essays, I. p. 216, pl. xx figs 47, 48.

³ Balban's copper coin, No. 114, seems to have been a half *kārsha*. So also the piece of Jalāl-ud-din Firūz, No. 123, and others in succession

where copper was struck as an inferior metal, and left to assert its own value, for, to its surface, the conqueror, following the custom of the west, declined to attach his name.

The author of the "Institutes of the Emperor Akbar" gives a second or alternative definition of the value and intrinsic contents of the assimilated *paisa*, *Buhlóli*, or *dám*, as equal to five *tankhs*. Whatever doubt might once have existed as to the measure of this weight, is now satisfactorily set at rest by the coins themselves; the *tankh*, in short, is merely the old *dharana* of 32 *ratís* (or 56 grains)¹ which, even at the remote period of the crude tabulation of weights, under the simple nomenclature of the seeds of the earth, from whence their denominations were chiefly obtained—had already acquired the optional name of *purána*, "old."

The two systems are fully represented in the current coinage of the Patháns, and conjointly offered considerable facilities for the settlement of broken change. The 40 *double kárshas*, or 80 current *single kárshas*, or 160 *half-kárshas* (No. 183), were equal to 200 copper *tankhs*, either of which amounts represented the established value of a silver *tankah*.²

In respect to the weights of copper, in either case, the totals ran $280 \text{ grains} \times 40 = 11200 \text{ grains}$, and $56 \times 200 = 11200 \text{ grains}$.

These figures have an additional importance in the present

¹ See p 221 *anté*, Bábar's Table of Weights, 32 *ratís* = 1 *tang*.

² Sir H Elliot has preserved a curious record of the practical working of the intricate sub divisional exchanges of the lower coinage under the head of "*Damri* دمری *دمڑی*". In the Dehli territory, the term is applied to the sub-divisions of a village. Thus in Gopálpúr, of Rohtak, there are 150 *damris*, each *damri* being equivalent to twenty five *kachcha bighas*. But *damri* is commonly known as a nominal coin, equal to $3\frac{1}{2}$ or $3\frac{1}{4}$ *damis*; or between two and three *gandas*—so that a *damri* varies from 8 to 12 *cowris*, according to the good-will and pleasure

instance, as they establish conclusively what was heretofore somewhat of a matter of conjecture,¹ that the ratio of copper to silver was 64:1 ($11200 \div 175 = 64$).

of unscrupulous Danyas. It may be useful to subjoin from the 'Diwán Pasand' a table showing the value of *damris* and *dams*:—

1 <i>damri</i>	$3\frac{1}{4}$ <i>dams</i> .	
2 "	$6\frac{1}{4}$ "	1 <i>chhaddm</i> .
3 "	$9\frac{1}{4}$ "	
4 "	$12\frac{1}{4}$ "	1 <i>adhela</i> .
5 "	15 "	
6 "	$18\frac{3}{4}$ "	$\frac{1}{2}$ <i>paisa</i> .
7 "	22 "	
8 "	25 "	1 <i>PAISA</i> .
9 "	28 "	
10 "	$31\frac{1}{2}$ "	$1\frac{1}{2}$ "
11 "	$34\frac{1}{2}$ "	
12 "	$37\frac{1}{2}$ "	$1\frac{3}{4}$ "
13 "	40 "	
14 "	44 "	$1\frac{3}{4}$ "
15 "	47 "	
16 "	50 "	1 <i>TAKA</i> .

The table is given with some slight variations in the 'Zubdatu'l Kawānīn,' but in neither are the smaller fractional amounts given with correctness." Sir H. Elliot, at the same time, is careful to warn us that the popular *dams* quoted in this table have nothing in common with the *dams* of Akbar's revenue accounts (ii. p. 81).

THIRTY-THIRD KING (A.H. 894-923; A.D. 1488-1517).

Some time before his decease, Buhlól had nominated as his successor his son Nizám, who, not altogether without opposition, ascended the imperial *masnad* under the title of Sikandar Sháh. In the division of his dominions in 883 A.H., the Sultán had assigned the kingdom of Jaunpúr to his son Bárbak. On attaining supreme power, Sikandar demanded the nominal allegiance of his brother in the still cherished recitation of his own name in the public prayers of the country over which Bárbak ruled; this homage being denied, it was deemed necessary to compel its concession by force of arms. In the action which ensued, Bárbak was worsted, but was subsequently forgiven, and reinstated in his government. During the succeeding years the Sultán was occupied in the subjection of Sultán Sharf, which was completed by the capture of his stronghold of Biana, and in the suppression of two somewhat formidable insurrections in Jaunpúr and Oude. In 897 A.H., Sikandar extended his conquests over the whole of Bihár, dispossessing Husain, the last of the regal line of the Sharkis, who was forced to take refuge with 'Alá-ud-dín, king of Bengal. With this monarch the ruler of Dehli arrived at a satisfactory understanding, involving a mutual recognition of boundaries and other rights. In 909 A.H., the Sultán, for the first time, fixed his residence at Agrah, which henceforth was to supersede Dehli as the metropolis of Hindústán. Sikandar's reign was disgraced by an unusual display of bigotry, evidenced principally in a persevering destruction of Hindú temples, on the sites of which were raised Muslim mosques.

No 316 (pl v fig 167) Copper Average weight, 139 grs
 A II 891, 895, 896, 898, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906
 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918,
 919, 920

فی رمس	الموکل علی الرحمن
امیر المومنین	سکندر شاد
جلدت خلافتہ	سلول شاد سلطان
۹۰۶	محسرت دہلی

No 317 Copper Average weight, 55.5 grs
 A II 905, 907

Obverse—الموکل علی الرحمن سکندر شاد سلول شاد
Reverse—امیر المومنین جلدت خلافتہ

NOTE ON SIKANDAR LODI'S COINAGE

As Buhlul Lodi's name is associated with a fixed money value in account, involving a seeming return to a partially obscured system of reckoning, so his son Sikandar's title is identified with a coinage which took a more definite and prominent position amid the succeeding currencies of the land. These two issues, confessedly composed of different metals, might at first sight be supposed to have but little in common, but on a more close examination the Sikandari *tankah* is found to have formed the connecting link between the *Buhlul* and the *dam* of Shir Sháh, there is one break, however, in the completeness of this continuity, inasmuch as the *Buhlul* was made up of two *karshas*, while the Sikandari *tankah* doubled that amount, twenty pieces constituting the change for a *silver tankah*, instead of the 40 *Buhluls* or 80 *karshas* of the previous scheme of exchange.

In the one case the design seems to have been to reintroduce the division by 40 to the supercession of the complicated 64 *kánis*, with its attendant gradational proportions of silver and copper; in the second instance, the same motive is more definitely developed in the rate established of 20 Sikandarís to the *silver tankah*, and the complete rejection of all traces of 64ths, inasmuch as the value of the new piece would not accord with any of the established *laṇi* pieces, nor would it even range with an imaginary division of half a *Shashkání*. The reverting to the alloy of mixed silver and copper regained all the old advantages of the portability of the coin, and all objection to the use of composite metal was removed in the limitation of the entire issue to one average value; while, on the other hand, the difficulty and loss incident to the recovery of the silver from this money for the construction of ornaments, etc., secured for it a permanency in its coined form which pure silver and gold could never have commanded.

The estimate of intrinsic contents derived from the accompanying Assay Table gives the rough average of silver to each coin as 5.647 grains; and adding the price of the copper basis at the rate of 64 copper to one of silver, we get something over a total silver value of 7.747 grains.¹ The parallel $\frac{1}{16}$ th of the 175 grains of the *full silver tankah* would be 8.750 grains, so that the combined metals furnish a very

¹ This is merely a tentative calculation, taking 41 coins to the lb (it should be more exactly 41.142). Then $299\ 1148 \times 24 = 7178\ 7552 \div 41 = 175\ 09208 \div 31 = 5\ 64813$, average grains of silver per coin. Copper contents remaining, $140 - 5\ 648 = 134\ 353$, at 64 grains per grain of silver $= 2\ 0989$ grains, or a total silver value of 7.74703 grains. Gen Cunningham's assay, by the native process, gives a much lower average of silver contents, rising only to 4.18 grains per coin. See p. 324, *anté*. But in neither one case nor the other need we expect any very uniform results. The Calcutta table itself furnishes ample evidence of the irregularity of the action of the Delhi Mint, which we have seen, by Firúz's own confession (p. 281), had very much its own way in regard to the equitable value of the mixed metal coins put forth from time to time.

fair approximation to the value theoretically required, especially if we make allowances for the very imperfect manner in which the two metals were obviously amalgamated and distributed in the general mass.

List of Dehli Coins, composed of silver and copper, in varying proportions, forwarded to the Calcutta Mint for examination by Edward Thomas, Esq, C S, 10th June, 1853

A H	Reference to Numbers of Coins in 'Pathan Sultans'	Weight in Grains	Dwts. Fine Silver per lb in each
	SIKANDAR BUHLÖL No 316		
895		143 438	1 900
896	"	142 163	2 025
"	"	142 936	1 925
"	"	138 913	1 615
"	"	140 088	2 200
898	"	141 500	1 5625
900	"	140 800	2 6000
"	"	127 600	3 0125
903	"	143 100	4 650
904	"	142 500	5 624
907	"	143 250	15 5
"	"	141 150	16 0
"	"	139 900	16 0
905	"	144 500	17 5
909	"	141 500	15 0
910	"	140 200	15 0
912	"	142 500	12 0
"	"	135 500	15 0
913	"	132 250	15 0
"	"	140 750	15 0
914	"	110 000	15 0
"	"	138 500	15 5
"	"	141 000	16 5
"	"	140 500	16 0
918	"	138 250	10 0
"	"	133 250	10 0
"	"	139 750	9 0
"	"	125 000	8 0
919	"	135 250	32 0
"	"	137 250	8 0
"	"	137 500	8 0
			299 1140

Under the written evidence of contemporary and other authors, the authoritative value of the Sikandari is equally well established in its full identity. Bábar, in his Memoirs, adverts to his own gift to his son Humáyún, on the occasion of the distribution of the accumulated treasures of the *Lódís*, as amounting to "70 *laḥs*," we must conclude of current coin Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad specifies the like sum of undefined but manifestly ordinary coin;¹ Khwandamír more explicitly designates the gift as being composed of Sikandari *tankahs*,² and Ferishtah, to complete the definition, capitalizes the sum in more modern currencies as "350,000 rupees,"³ which determines the ruling value of the piece at two *dáms*, or a sufficient approach to the amount which the intrinsic contents of the coins now assayed would average. Furthermore, the system of computing by double *dáms* was clearly widely spread and of very general acceptance;⁴ so much so that Akbar himself is found to have provided a special copper coin of that denomination, truly of very inconvenient proportions,⁵ seem-

¹ Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad *Bakshi*, who was learned in currencies, fixes the sum of "70 *laḥs*" as given to Humáyún, but there is no specification of any particular coin. The text runs—

حرایں برکشاده هفتاد لک شاهراده
عالمیان محمد حمایین مرا انعام فرموده امرارا ده لک و هشت
لک و شش لک و پنج لک

p 132, E I MS, etc

² I have little hesitation in correcting his "7 *laḥs*" into 70. Most of these references were collected by Erskine (History of Bábar and Humáyún, ii p 544). He, however, missed the passage from Nizám-ud-dín, and in the absence of the coins, properly hesitated to correct the seven *laḥs* of Khwandamír, whose information was otherwise most exact, as he was a contemporary and well informed author. See Elliot's Index, p 108, Ferishtah, Briggs, ii p 48.

³ سه لک و سصد و پنجاه هزار روپيه نقد p 282 Kháfí Khán has—

پنجاه هزار تکه نقره رائج الوقت

p 53, Calcutta text.

⁴ See Sir H. Elliot's table, quoted p 364, Erskine's Bábar, i. pp 542-4.

⁵ Such a piece is extant in the British Museum, weighing 664 grains, an

ingly more designed to meet the contingency of an appeal to such a weight in its legalized form than for any purposes of practical utility in the general circulation

T INSCRIPTIONS AT DEHLI OF SIKANDAR BIN BULHOL.

- 1 Dated A H 903, on the Dargah of Yusuf Katál
- 2 Dated A H 906, on the bastion of Shahab ud din Taj Khan
- 3 Dated A H 909, on the lower entrance of the Kutb Minar
- 4 Dated A H 912, to the following effect —

در عهد دولت همايون سلطان الاعظم المعظم المتوكل على الرحمن
 سكندر شاه بن ببلول شاه سلطان جلد الله ملكه و سلطانه ما كرد
 اين كسد سده اميدوار رحمت پروردگار دولت حان حواحه محمد
 عره ماه رحب سه اثنى عشر و سعمائة

- 5 Dated A H 913, on the arch of the Makbarah of Firuz Sháh
 (p 310, *ante*)

THE YARD MEASURE OR GAZ OF SIKANDAR LODI

Abul Fazl, in noticing the various descriptions of yard-measures introduced at different times into Hindustan, makes incidental mention of certain coins designated Sikandarís—upon the basis of a given number of diameters of which the *gaz* of Sikandar Lodi was authoritatively defined. The class of money described under No 316 evidently furnished, among other uses, the data for this singularly defined measure. Any tyro in Indian Numismatics, under whose eye specimens of this mintage may chance to pass, cannot fail to remark that, imperfect as their configuration undoubtedly is, as compared

amount which is rather over the estimated ratio but the coin is sharp unworn and is perhaps, affected by the oxydation of its once clear surface

with our modern machine-struck money—yet, that they hold a high place among their predecessors in respect to their improved circularity of form, and general uniformity of diameter—points which had certainly been less regarded in the earlier products of the Dehli mints

The passage alluded to is to the following textual effect —
 سلطان سکندر لودی در هندوستان سرگرے در میان آورد و آبرا
 چل و یکٹ و سم اسکدری اندارے گرفت * و آن مسس نقدی است
 گرد نعره آمر * حمت آشایے سم دیگر افرون و پچل و دو قراد گرفت *
 مقدار آن سی و دو انگشت بود * و ارپشس حکما سر ندیسان
 برگدارند * و در رمان شرحاں و سلم حان * * سمس گر پمورد تا
 سال سی و یکم الہی اگرچہ در کرپاس گرا کر شاہی بود و پچل و شش
 انگشت برابر لکن در رراعت و عمارت اسکدری نکار داشته

—Calcutta text, p 296

With a view to make these coins, even at the present day, contribute towards our knowledge of the true length of this *gaz* which is still a *rezata quæstio*, I have carefully measured a set of 42 of these pieces, arranged in one continuous line, the result is, that the completion of the 30th inch of our measure falls exactly opposite the centre of the 42nd coin

The specimens selected for trial have not been picked, beyond the rejection of five very palpably worn pieces, out of the total 48 of Mr Bayley's coins which I have at my disposal

The return now obtained I should be disposed to look upon as slightly below the original standard, notwithstanding that it differs from the determination of the measure put forth by Prinsep,¹ but I must add that Prinsep himself distrusted

¹ Prinsep's *Essays Useful Tables* pp 193 196

mechanical appliances, and to all appearance the presiding authorities of the period scarcely contemplated exceptional exactitude in this summary but ever ready test. No doubt the fiscal administrators were furnished with critical official standards, but the immediate object in view in the present adjustment seems to have been to supply the mass of unlettered purchasers with a prompt means of checking the professional frauds of the shopkeepers,¹ so that the simple exhibition of a row of Sikandaris, the leading current coin of the realm, on the counter, would on the instant determine the fullness or deficiency of the tradesman's yard, constituting, in brief, a popular ready reckoner, especially adapted to the notions and traditions of the indigenes. I freely accept Abul Fazl's suggestion, that this *gaz* was no new measure of length introduced by Sikandar, the original (and possibly aboriginal) *gaz* was already obviously in full use and recognition, and Akbar himself, with all his needless but otherwise systematic innovations, had to confess, in the 31st year of his reign, that though he had carried his own *Albari gaz* of 46 finger breadths into the cloth merchants' shops, that the Sikandari *gaz* of 32 fingers was still "employed for every other purpose," and thus he confessedly met the difficulty by subsiding into the compromise of the *Ilahi gaz* of 41 fingers.²

¹ See p 164 *ante*

² These numbers are suggestive the ancient 32 (or half of 64) as superseded by the irregular totals of the Muslim theory. Abul Fazl further confesses that "in some ancient books (کس نامہ) the *gaz* is said to consist of two spans and two inches (دو شرو و دو گر)، and this *ga* is divided into 16 equal parts (گر)، each of which was subdivided into quarters called *pahar* (پہر، پھر)، so that the *pahar* was the $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *ga*. —Gladwin's *Ayn-i Akbari*, ii p 302, Calcutta text, p 294

In connexion with this question of normal Indian numbers, I may refer to the archaic Dravidian *kani* in the existing land measures of the south —Prinsep Useful Tables p 124

Those earnest men who followed the pioneers of our conquest in Upper India, and who were content to identify themselves with *the* nation over whom they were appointed to rule, displayed much interest in the determination of the imperfectly preserved definitions of the *Ilāhī gaz*. It was somewhat of a cardinal point with comparative strangers, who had to assimilate their feelings to local prejudices, to prove themselves in advance of the crude knowledge which insisted upon the supremacy of provincial standards, and so it came about that all sorts of positive data were put under contribution to establish the infinitesimal *unit* from which the more ample and enlarged land measures of Akbar's empire were avowedly derived. Hence investigations were instituted under many varied aspects—open tradition, extant buildings of historically defined measurement, barley corns of primeval repute, home and foreign men's fore arms and fingers' breadths, square Akbari rupees, and very modern round "*Mansúri*" *paisa*, were pressed into the service. But, perhaps, the best and closest estimate was furnished by the crucial test of the "average of copper wires returned by the *Tahsildárs* of *Murádábád* as the counterparts of the actual measures from which their *bighas* (*quasi*-acres) were formed," amounting to an average of 33.50 inches per *gaz*, on the rough calculation of three-fourths of an inch for each finger breadth.¹

In the end, for all practical purposes of modern measurements, the Government of the day (1825-6) adopted, as a convenient solution, an arbitrary value for the *Ilāhī gaz* of 33 English inches.

¹ Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. II., *Useful Tables*, p. 123, *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, III. p. 88, and Mr. Cracroft's paper, vol. III. 360, *Elliot's Glossary*, "*Kos and Jarib*," II. pp. 189, 194.

THIRTY-FOURTH KING (A.H. 923-937; A.D. 1517-1530).

Ibráhím succeeded his father Sikandar; from the very commencement of his reign his arrogance disgusted the nobles of his own tribe of Lódi, who speedily sought to reduce his power by placing his brother, Jalál, on the throne of the kingdom of Jaunpúr. Having compassed this purpose, however, some doubt arose as to the wisdom of their own act, and hence an attempt was made to weaken Jalál by the withdrawal of several Amírs who had joined his standard. Jalál, detecting this design, determined upon active measures to secure himself; he therefore collected his forces and advanced to Kálpi, assuming the style of Sultán, with the title of Jalál-ud-dín. He next entered into negotiations with 'Ázim Humáyún, who held Kálinjar for Ibráhím, and at length induced him to desert the cause of the Emperor. 'Ázim Humáyún failed at the time of need, and Jalál was reduced to a position of much difficulty, from which, however, he had a favourable opportunity of extricating himself, by the success of a sudden march upon Agrah, which he found almost undefended; but, from some strange infatuation, he allowed himself to be deluded into treating with the governor of the city, and on the advance of Ibráhím he was compelled to flee to Gwálíor, where he received a temporary shelter; he was, ultimately, after various adventures and escapes, captured and put to death.

The alarm excited by the unrestrained cruelties dictated by the distrustful disposition of the Sultán, led to numerous other revolts: among the rest, Daria Khán, viceroy of Bihár, openly disclaimed allegiance; and his son, Muhammad, who

shortly succeeded him, even caused the Khutbah to be read, and coin to be struck, in his own name¹ Daulat Lodi, the governor of some of the dependencies of the Punjab, also rebelled, and solicited the protection of Bábar, who had already, in 930 A H, obtained possession of Láhor. Subsequently, an expedition was organized against the ruler of Dehli under his own uncle, 'Alá-ud dīn, but in the engagement which ensued, the contingent of the Mughals was defeated with great slaughter. This was followed by the advance of Bábar in person, and on the 7th of Rajab, 932 A H, on the celebrated battle field of Paniput, Ibráhim, after an individually well contested though ill directed action, lost his kingdom and his life.

No 318 Copper Weight, 83 grs Rare

مي زمين	المشوكل على
امير المومنين	الرحمن ابراهيم شاه
جلدت خلافة	سكندر شاه
	سلطان

No 319 Copper Weight, 87 grs Rare

Obverse—ابراهيم شاه سلطان

Reverse—امير المومنين جلدت خلافة

No 320 Copper Weight, 42 grs Rare A H 926, 927

Obverse— * * ابراهيم شاه سكندر

Reverse—امير المومنين جلدت خلافة ٩٢٦

¹ Gladwin's *Ayn-i Akbari*

No. 321. Copper. Weight, 110 grs. Col. Guthrie.



ابراهيم شاد لودی
بن مکندر



السلطان
بن
السلطان

The issue of this coin, which follows the *Málwah square* type of money, is supposed to commemorate the fraudulent acquisition of Chandéri by Ibráhím, who; taking advantage of the death of Muhammad Sháh (the rebel opponent of his regnant brother, Mahmúd of Málwah), obtained possession of the person of his heir, and placed a dependent of his own in charge of the country, from whence it passed in later days, by Rána Sanga's gift, to Madni Ráo.

Bárbak of Jaunpúr.

No. 322. Silver and Copper. Weight, 120 grs. Rare.

A.H. 892, 894.



نائب
امير المومنين
بشير حونپور
٨٩٢



Centre.
باركشاه
سلطان
Margin illegible.

THE MUGHAL (CHAGHATAI) CONQUEST.

The narrative of Bábar's persevering efforts towards the conquest of India, and the eventful career of his son Humáyún, are, perhaps, more pertinent to general history than germane to the limited notices of the local succession of the Pathán dynasty of Hindústán, with which we are immediately concerned. It may, therefore, be sufficient to indicate more concisely than usual the dates of the prominent occurrences in the Indian reigns of the two monarchs, under the tabular form already adopted, where it was felt desirable to economize space in these pages

BÁBAR IN INDIA.

^{A H} 932 ^{A D} 1526 (9th Rajab.) Defeat and death of Ibráhím Lódi, at Paniput.

(12th Rajab) Bábar enters Dehli; on the Friday following he has public prayers pronounced in his name as Emperor; and with proper Mughal craving for plunder, has seals put upon the treasures of the old metropolis,¹ while he hastens on to Agrah to secure the accumulated wealth of the house of Lódi.²

Capture of Jaunpúr by Humáyún.

Surrender of Bána, Gwálíor, and Multán.

¹ In a similar spirit, Humáyún broke these seals on his "way home in 1527, and appropriated his father's money."—Bábar's Memoirs, pp 368, 371, Erskine's History, i. p 476

² Bábar himself, in his Memoirs, has left upon record a concise epitome of the distribution of power in India at the moment of his conquest in A D 1526. "At the period when I conquered the country, five Musulmán kings and two pagans exercised royal authority . . . One of these powers was the Afgháns, whose government included the capital, and extended from Behrah to Bihár Jaunpúr, before it fell into the power of the Afghans, was held by Husain Sháh Sharki . . . The second prince was Sultán Muhammad Muzaffar, in Gujarát; he had departed this life a few days before Sultán Ibráhím Lódi's defeat . . . The

- A H A D
 933 1527 Defeat of Rána Sanga at Kanwah, Bábar assumes the title of *Glázi* on this occasion.
 934 1528 Capture of Chandéri (Madíni Rao's stronghold) (29th Jumada'l akhír) Occupation of Lucknow (5th Muharram, 935) Occupation of Rantambhor
 935 1529 (Sh'aban) Bihár subdued and entrusted to Muhammad Zamán Mírza (27th Sh'aban) Final defeat of the troops of the Afghan coalition Treaty with Nuṣrat Sháh of Bengal
 937 1530 (5th Jumáda l akhír) Bábar's death at Agrah ¹

HUMÁYÚN IN INDIA

- 937 1530 (9th Jumáda'l awwal) Accession Division of governments—1 *Kamran*,² Kábul and Kandahar, 2 *Aslari Mirza*, Sambhal, 3 *Hindal Mirza*, Alwar (Mewat), 4 *Sulaiman Mirza*, Badakhshan
Kámran takes Lahor and occupies the Punjab

third kingdom is that of the Bahmans in the Dakhan, but at the present time the Sultáns of the Dakhan have no authority or power left. The fourth king was Sultán Mahmúd who reigned in the country of Málwah which they likewise call Mándú This dynasty was called the Khiljí Rána Sanga a pagan, had defeated them and occupied a number of their provinces The fifth prince was Nuṣrat Sháh in the kingdom of Bengal The most powerful of the pagan princes, in point of territory and army, is the Rája of Bījanagar Another is Rána Sanga, who has attained his present high eminence only in these later times by his own valour and his sword. His original principality was Chitor — Erskine's *Memoirs of Bábar* p 311

¹ His dominions at the period of his decease 'stretched from the river Ama to Bihár etc.—Erskine's *History*, I. p 526

² *Kámran*'s coins are extant The following is a description of a specimen in the East India Company's collection struck at Kábul in A H 947 —

Silver Weight 71 grs

Obverse—Area (diamond shaped) محمد كامران بادشاه عاری

الملك السلطان الاعظم الجاهان جلد الله تعالى ملكه
 وسلطانه ضرب كابل سنة ٩٤٧

Reverse—Circular area, the *Katimah*

Margin, انابكر الصديقي عمر الفاروق عثمان العون على المرتضى

- | A H | A D | |
|-----|------|--|
| 937 | 1530 | Humáyun defeats the combined army under Mahmúd Lódi at Doura, and gets possession of Jaunpúr |
| 938 | 1532 | Advances against Shír Khán at Chunar, but is obliged to return to meet the threatened hostility of Bahádur Sháh of Gujarat Campaigns in Málwah, Gujarát, etc |
| 942 | 1535 | Capture of the Fort of Champánír |
| 946 | 1539 | (9th Safar) Shír Sháh's perfidy at Chonsa (Chupar Ghát), ruin of Humáyun's army, and his retreat to Agra |
| 947 | 1540 | Final defeat of Humayun by Shír Sháh, near Kanauj, and flight of the former |

BABAR.

No 323 (pl. v fig 172) Silver Weight, 71.5 gra. Very rare

Obverse—Centre, محمد باير بادشاه

Margin (worn) * * السلطان الاعظم

Reverse—Centre, لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Margin, على المرتضى * * * *

No 324 (pl. v fig 173) A silver coin of Babar (East India Cabinet), somewhat similar to the above, has the word عارى at the end of the inscription on the obverse area, in addition to the legend detailed under No 323, marking, in this addition, his very hazardous encounter with Rána Sanga in A H 933. Another specimen gives the full date of A H 936.

On the obverse margin is to be seen—الاعظم حاتم

Reverse—Area as in the last coin

Margin, العرب على المرتضى *

These silver coins correspond to the class of money designated by Abúl Fazl under the generic term of *Babaris*, which he states weighed *one miskal* each, and to have

been rated in exchange at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per rupee.¹ The constantly quoted *Sháh Rukhis* of contemporary authors constituted an identical currency, as this piece is also defined as the equivalent of 16 *dáms*,² which gives the like return of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per rupee; in effect, Bábar's northern money appears to have been a mere continuation of the earlier issues of Sháh Rukh, the Mughal Sultán of Persia (A.H. 807-850), whose coinage was so largely spread over all Asia.³

HUMAYÚN.

No. 325. Gold. Irregular weights, 8, 10, and 13 grs. Rare.

Obverse—لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Reverse—محمد همايون بادشاه غازي خلد الله تعالى ملكه

No. 326 (pl. v. fig. 175). Silver. Weight, 71 grs. A.H. 944.

Very rare.

Obverse—Centre, محمد همايون غازي

Margin, الملك الامير السلطان الاعظم الخاقان خلد الله

تعالى ملكه و سلطانه ضرب اكره سنه ٩٤٤

The King, the Amír, the most mighty Sultán, the Khákán.

May Almighty God prolong his dominion and sovereignty!

Struck at Agrab, (in the) year 944.

Reverse—Centre,

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله الله يرزق من يشاء بغير حساب

There is no god but God; Muhammad is the apostle of God.

God is bountiful unto whom He pleaseth, without measure.⁴

¹ *Miská* = 40 *ratis*. See pp 222, 223, *anté*, *Ain-i Akbari*, Gladwin, ii p. 198

² *Ain-i Akbari*, ii. 209. "8 *laks* of *Sháhrukhis* = 3,20,000 rupees, or 1 *kror* and 28 *laks* of *dáms*."—*Erskine's Bábar*, etc., i. p. 544

³ *Fræhn*, *Recensio Numerum Muhammadanorum*, pp. 430, 496.

⁴ *Kurán*, *Súrah* ii 208.

نصدق انا بكر عدل عمر بجای عثمان بعلم علي
 رضى الله عنه

By the truth of Ababakr, by the justice of 'Umar, by the
 modesty of 'Usman, by the wisdom of 'Alí, may God
 reward him

No 327 (pl v fig 176) Silver Weight, 71 grains Struck at
 Agrah, 945 A H A variety, with a nearly square area, has the
 date 952 A H, the name of the place of mintage is obliterated

No 328 (pl v fig 176a) A coin of the same type, which is un-
 fortunately wanting in both date and place of mintage, has the
 countermark or Hall stamp of Kámrán, attesting the current
 value of the piece Of this impress the following words are
 still legible عدل كامران بادشاه ع

Another silver coin of Humáyun (weight, 71 grains) has the
 محمد همانون عاری only, in an oblong area The reverse area
 being circular, as in the specimen engraved, the legend itself is
 confined to the usual short symbol The margins are much worn,
 but apparently vary slightly in their legends from those of the
 above coins There are traces of the figures 937

I have inserted the subjoined coins of Akbar in this place, irre-
 spective of their order of date with a view to keep together the
 various specimens of this foreign type of money, the issue of which
 seems to have been persevered in amid the migratory Mughal camps
 and temporarily occupied cities of India

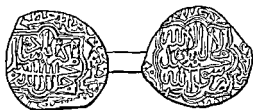
AKBAR

No 329 Gold Weight 18 grs A H 969 Col Guthrie

Obverse—حلال الدين محمد اكر بادشاه عاری ۹۶۹

Reverse—The Kalimah

No. 330. Silver. Weight, 60 grs. A.H. 963. Col. Guthrie.



٩٦٣

اکر بادشاه

محمد

جلال الدین

Margin— * سلطان الاعظم * *

* * تعالیٰ

لا اله الا الله

محمد

رسول الله

Margin illegible.

ANONYMOUS COINS.

I have considered it preferable to class the anonymous coins hereunto appended, under a separate head, as although their dates would in general indicate the Sovereign during whose reign they were struck, still the absence of any name upon the individual piece might leave a possible doubt as to the true presiding authority of the moment, especially in money coming to us from such disturbed times as witnessed the issue of many of these *fulûs*; and as exactitude is a high conceit among Numismatists, I would not knowingly so offend against the prejudices of caste as to claim reliance upon aught that was susceptible of critical question. These coins of unavowed kingship are therefore

grouped in a series apart, an arrangement which has the advantage of bringing them all under one compact view, and developing in continuity, the special merit they possess, strangely enough in greater perfection than more imposing medals, viz, of assisting in the elucidation of the contemporaneous geographical status, and of indicating in the fact the relative importance, of the leading cities of the epoch.

These coins seem to date their origin from Bábar's conquest, and we recognize in the earlier specimens both the hand and the art of workmen other than indigenous. The practice of striking coin in subordinate cities also appears to have been an innovation introduced by the Mughals, who drew a wise distinction between the importance of the lower currency of copper and money fabricated from the more costly gold or silver. The absence of the Sultán's name likewise indicates a departure from Indian practice, under which we have uniformly seen the designation of the supreme authority impressed upon the copper money equally with the coins of higher value.

Bábar's introduction of so much of the leading ideals of his Bokhárá¹ money into Hindústán was destined to be attended with more permanence in the coins of the poor, whose standard he adopted, than in that of his more elaborately executed *dirhams* and *ashrafis*, in which he outraged local associations.

The average weight of the pieces of this class is very uniform at something over 140 grains, a total we have frequently met with in the earlier coins of the Pathán issues, 80 of which went to the old *tanlah*, 4 to the modified *Sikandari*, and 32 to the foreign *Bábari* and *Shah Rukhi*.

¹ Frahn's *Recessio*, p. 432, etc., M. Soret, *Lettre sur la Numismatique*, June, 1843, p. 28.

Their relative value in exchange against silver may have varied from time to time, but the fact of Akbar's accepting copper as his universal standard shows that he felt that all important fluctuations, as might have been predicted, virtually took place in the more readily affected ratios of the precious metals

No 331 Copper Weight, 142 grs Agrah, A H 936 *Unique*
Obverse—Circular area, within a margin of fine lines and dots run into a scroll pattern

Legend—**صرب اگرد**

Reverse—Oblong area (*Mihrab*), with ornamental flowered scroll margin

Legend—**فی تاریخ سنہ ۹۳۶**

No 332 Copper Weight, 135 grs Mint, Fort of Agrah,
 A H 936

Obverse—**دارالصر قلع اگرد**

Reverse as above

No 333 Copper Weight, 142 grs Agrah, Seat of the Khulāfat,
 A H. 937, 938, 939, 490, 941, 942, 943

Obverse—Plain surface, with the Legend—**صرب مدارالخلافة اگرد**

Reverse—Simple marginal lines encircle the field, the inner portions above and below the legend are filled in with scroll-work

Legend—**فی تاریخ سنہ ۹۳۷**

No 334 Copper Weight 141 grs Agrah, Seat of Justice,
 A H 943

Obverse—**صرب مدار العدل اگرد**

Reverse as above

No 335 Copper Weight, 141 grs Lāhor, Seat of the Khilāfat,
A. II 938, 939, 940

Obverse—سرب دارالحکومت لاهور

Reverse—می تاریخ سنہ ۹۳۸

No 336 Copper Weight, 141 grs Dehli, Seat of Govern-
ment, A II 940, 941, 942, 943

Obverse—سرب دارالملک دہلی

Reverse as usual

No 336a Copper Weight 139 grs Capital, Dehli, Seat of
Government, A II 943 Unique My cabinet

Obverse—سرب دارالملک حصہ دہلی

Reverse as usual

No 337 Copper Weight, 143 grs Mandu, A II 941 942
Humayun in possession ? (See Table, p 380) Rare

Obverse—سرب منڈو

Reverse as usual.

No 338 Copper Weight, 140 grs Mint, Fort of Alwar,
A. II 936

Obverse—سرب دارالصر بلع الور

No 339 Copper Weight, 140 grs District, Jaunpur,
A II 940, 941

Obverse—سرب جوبپور

Reverse as usual

BÁBAR'S INDIAN REVENUE.

One of the most interesting documents relating to the fiscal history of India has been discovered and preserved by Mr. Erskine in the unique detail given by Bábar himself of the revenues of his newly-acquired kingdom.¹

Mr. Erskine felt some difficulty in satisfying himself as to what this nominal total of fifty-two *krors*, summarized by Bábar, might chance to represent in English money, and he was constrained to leave it an open question between no less than five several amounts, ranging from £1,300,000 to £52,000,000.² There can be little hesitation—now that we have discovered the true value of the *Sikandari tankah* and its direct association with the double *dams* of Akbar—in adopting that standard and almost exclusively current piece as the real measure of value in this and in all similar instances, where the *tankah* is not qualified by some descriptive term. In the present table, the introduction of the specification of *silver tankahs* and *black tankahs*, in the Tírhút return, implies, *prima facie*, that the general total

¹ This return was wanting in all the MSS previously accessible

² "The amount of this revenue of 52 *krors*, if considered as represented in single *dams*, according to the mode of computation in Akbar's reign, would be £1,300,000, if in double *dams*, according to the calculation of Ferishtah, £2,600,000, if we adopted the mode of reckoning suggested by the facts stated by Mirza Haidar, it would be £4,212,000, while, if we take the *tankah* at 7½¢, which is somewhat below the lowest rate it reached in the reign of Sultan Mubammad bin Tughlak [see correction, p 229 *ante*], the amount would be £16 250,000, but if at its full and proper value of a *rupee*, £52,000,000. Everything considered, I should consider £4,212 000 as the amount of Bábar's nominal revenue, a very large sum when the working of the American mines had not yet produced its full effect. It is not easy to find any unobjectionable point of comparison. The statements of Akbar's revenue given in the translation of the *Ain i Akbari* have not been generalized, and are far from being always distinct"—Erskine, i p 542

was based upon some coin which would not directly come under either category; the Sikandari *tankah*, however designedly lowered in value, had an equal claim to the generic name with its predecessors of higher metallic mark. As has been already explained (pp. 336, 369, 384), these Sikandaris represented, irregularly perhaps in individual pieces, but satisfactorily in large amounts, a value of $\frac{1}{16}$ of the old *silver tankah*. Under this test, Bābar's given total corresponds to a sum of 2,60,00,000 *silver tankahs*, or £2,600,000.¹ Akbar's revenues are not quite so uncertain or indeterminate as Mr. Erskine was inclined to suppose. We have definitions of their amount from two different sources. Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad's return, which refers to A.H. 1002 (A.D. 1593), is quite explicit, and places them at 640,00,00,000, "six hundred and forty *krors*² of *tankah muradi*." Taking these as Sikandari *tankahs*, we obtain a sum of 32,00,00,000 (640,00,00,000 ÷ 20) *silver tankahs* (roughly modern *rupees*), or the equivalent of £32,000,000.

Abūl Fazl's revenue estimate for the fortieth year of the reign, or A.H. 1003 (A.D. 1594), is far more obscure. It is epitomized in the introduction to his twelve *Sūbahs*, or divisions of India, as 3,62,97,55,246 *dams*;³ but this aggregate

¹ Bābar confesses that he added, at one time, 30 per cent to the ordinary taxes to meet the enhanced expenditure upon his army of occupation. This does not appear to have been included in the above summary—Bābar's *Memoirs*, p. 387, Erskine, i p. 488.

² Whatever complications may exist about *dams* in the *Ain-i Akbari*, the text of Nizām ud dīn Ahmad (a paymaster), is clear and definite as to ششصد و چهل "640 *kror*" See also Elliot's *Index*, p. 204.

³ The printed Persian text, even with all the advantages of Dr Blochmann's choice series of MSS, only confirms Gladwin's original rendering (u. p. 1) The passage runs—سه ارب و شصت و دو کروڑ و بود و حسب لک و پنجاه و بیس. The passage runs—سه ارب و شصت و دو کروڑ و بود و حسب لک و پنجاه و بیس. There is a possibility that the سه = 3

does not correspond with the grand total to be obtained from the more comprehensive provincial tables in his own work, nor do those tables themselves always coincide with the preliminary summary prefixed to the returns of each fiscal division; indeed, there is internal evidence that the detailed statistics were corrected-up, independently, from later documents, when Akbar's dominions had extended their boundaries; but as regards the figures above quoted, there must clearly be an error either of calculation or of transcription: the given sum reckoned in single *dāms* gives the absurdly small amount of 9,07,43,881 rupees, or £9,074,388. Understood as double *dāms*, or Sikandarīs of identical value, the total would still only reach 18,14,87,762 rupees, or £18,148,776, or little more than half the sum the more authoritative assertion of Nizām-ud-dīn places it at. It is possible that a more close examination of the fiscal returns of Akbar's reign may throw light upon this unaccountable divergency; but for the present I am content to adhere implicitly to Nizām-ud-dīn's figures, and to suspect that Abūl Fazl's sum indicated origi-

may be intended for سی = 30, a very frequent error (ordinarily guarded against by the insertion of the figure ۳ over the سی, thus سی۳), which would produce at 40 *dāms* the large but not impossible sum of 76,57,43,881 rupees, or £76,574,388. But the rectification that most commends itself to me, as an occasional reconstructor of Persian texts, does even more violence to the extant version, inasmuch as I should go so far as to suggest a substitution of the more divergent word شش or six, for the opening *written* word, سه or three, which now appears in the MSS and their printed reproductions. This would establish a very near approach to the result of Nizām ud dīn Ahmad's return, and one fully within the range of identities and probabilities. Under this scheme, the long array of figures would present themselves as 6,62,97,55,246, which, divided by 20 (the ruling number in the parallel case), would produce a sum of 33,14,87,772 *silver tankās*, or a very close approximation to the 32,00,00,000 obtained from our leading authority, Nizām-ud-dīn, which is fixed at the latter amount, though specified in different terms, and ruled by an independent scheme of exchange.

nally a very moderate increment upon the ordinary revenue of the preceding year. Though, of course, if the leading total was altered under later authorities to meet the ever varying annual income, the irreconcilable figures themselves become comparatively unimportant.

Mr. Erskine quotes another very curious table of the revenues of India under Aurangzéb (A.H. 1068-1118; A.D. 1651-1707),¹ which produces a grand total of 38,71,94,000 rupees, or £38,719,400, at which period the provinces entered in Bábar's schedule had risen to an improved revenue return of 7,81,46,550 rupees, or £7,814,655.

THE REVENUES OF BÁBAR'S INDIAN DOMINIONS

	TANKANS
1. The Sirkár west of the Satlege, Bhíra, Láhor, Siálkót, Daibálpúr, etc.	36,315,989
2. Sirhind and its dependencies	12,931,985
3. Hissár Fírúzáh... ..	13,075,104
4. <i>Dár ul Mulk</i> , Dehli, in the Doáb	36,950,254
5. Méwát (not included in Sikandar's Revenue roll)	16,981,000
6. Biana... ..	14,414,930
7. Agrah	2,976,919
8. Mián-i Viláat	29,119,000
9. Gwálor	22,357,450
10. Kálpi, etc.... ..	42,855,950
11. Kanauj	13,063,358
12. Sambal	13,844,000
13. Lakhnau, etc	13,982,433

¹ This is taken from Catron's *Histoire de l'Empire Mogol*, Paris, 4to, 1716, p. 264. The information is supposed to be derived from the papers of Manucci, the Venetian traveller. Catron adds to his other remarks, that "other taxes and duties equal or exceed the land revenue." Bernier also gives an imperfect return of the revenues of twenty divisions, in Aurangzéb's reign, amounting to 22,58,78,000 rupees (u. p. 354).

	TANKAHS	
14 Khairábád	1,265,000	
15 Oude and Bahráich	11,721,369	
16 Jannpur	40,088,333	
17 Karra and Mamkpur	16,327,280	
18 Bihár	40,560,000	
19 Sirwár	15,517,506½	
20 Sâran	11,018,679	
21 Chumparam	19,086,609	
22 Gondlah	4,330,300	
23 Tírhut. Tribute (Khidmatána) of the Tírhút Rája 250,000 ¹ Silver Tankahs, and 2,750,000 ² Black Tankahs... ..		
24 Rantambhór	2,000,009	
25 Nagór	13,000,000	
26 Rája Bikramájít from Ran- tambhór		
27. Rája of Kálinjar		
28 Rája Birsing deo		
29 Rája Bikram-deo		
30 Raja Bikram Chand... ..		
	443,783,457½	^{Silver Tankahs.} = 2,21,89,172
Add Tírhút estimate, [250,000 Tankahs, and 2,750,000, at 10 per Tankah, or 275,000] ...	525,000	525,000
.		<u>2,27,14,172</u>

[Or at $\frac{1}{40}$ of a Tankah, at the exchange of 2s per Tankah,
£2,271,417, exclusive of the tribute from the five Rájas, the
totals of which are left blank]

¹ *Tankañ-nakrah*, "silver Tankahs," or full money

² *Tankañ sikh*, "black Tankahs," at 2½d See p 230 ante

THIRTY-SIXTH KING (A.H. 947-952; A.D. 1540-1545).

The history of Shír Sháh has yet to be written, and it is to be feared that those who undertake the task will find much difficulty, at this late period, in doing justice to his masterly administrative abilities, or in restoring to him that meed of honour for his systemization of the revenue and fiscal departments of Indian policy which Akbar's eulogists have appropriated to their own master.¹ His chequered career, his rise from a comparatively humble sphere, and his success so often due to his individual efforts, are soiled by the frequent association of the Afghán national vices of duplicity, treachery, and unscrupulous breaches of faith. The introductory annals of this reign embrace so many minor incidents, that, following earlier precedents, I have reduced the details into the more compact form of a tabular outline, instead of attempting to generalize the narrative of the consecutive events.

¹ "It is impossible to conclude the history of such a prince without regretting that so few materials remain for affording a view of the internal administration of his dominions. Many of his revenue regulations were retained or renewed by Akbar, and seem to have made a part of Todar-Mal's improved system of finance. But Shír Sháh was soon succeeded on the throne by a hostile family, whose partizans were not disposed to see any merit in the virtues of an enemy"—*Erskine's Bábar*, ii 446. See also *Elphinstone*, pp 457, 541.

Sir Henry Elliot was likewise strongly impressed with the value of Shír Sháh's reforms, regarding which we were quite in accord, and I have reason to believe he will be found to have collected much information on the subject during his patient investigations into this interesting portion of the history of India. These details will probably appear in the fourth volume of the *Historians of India*, now in course of publication under Professor Dowson's editorship.

OUTLINE OF SHÍR SHÁH'S CAREER.

- | A.H | A.D | |
|-----|------|--|
| 934 | 1528 | Shír Khán <i>Jagirdar</i> of Sahsarám (in Sháhábád) is presented to Bábar, and accompanies him in the expedition against Chanderi. Becomes prime minister to Jalál ud dín <i>Lohani</i> , king of Bihar, who eventually, in fear of his own <i>varir</i> , takes refuge with Nusrat Shah of Bengal. Shír Khán defeats Ibrahim Khan, the general of Nusrat Sháh. Jalál ud-dín escapes from the field. |
| 935 | 1529 | Shír Khan submits to Sultán Mahmud <i>Lódi</i> , who is proclaimed king of Bihar, but who, shortly afterwards, has to retire before the army of Bábar, into Bengal. Shír Khán is meanwhile left in possession of his own <i>Jagirs</i> . |
| 937 | | Shír Khán obtains possession of the Fort of Chunár. |
| 938 | | Humáyun makes terms with Shír Khan. |
| 942 | | Shír Khan defeats Ulugh Mírza, plunders Benares, reduces Patna, and in 943 pushes his forces into Bengal and besieges Gour. Chunar surrenders to Humáyun, Gour capitulates to Shír Khán, Syud Mahmud Sháh seeks refuge with Humáyun. |
| 945 | | Temporary check to Humayun's advance at Terra garhi. Shír Khán acquires the Fort of Rhotas (lat 24° 38', long 82° 25') by treachery. Gour occupied by Humáyun. Shír Khan, already in possession of the passes, takes Benares, proceeds against Jaunpur, and thus isolates Humayun in Bengal. Hindal Mírza revolts and proclaims himself <i>Sultan</i> at Agrah. Shír Khan assumes the title of <i>Shah</i> , or king of Bihar. |
| 946 | 1539 | Shír Sháh circumvents Humáyun at Chonsa (Chupar Ghát) on the Ganges, and after terms of peace had been settled, with true Afghan perfidy, he arranges a night attack upon Humáyun's camp, and totally destroys his army, the Sultan himself escaping with the greatest difficulty. Shír Shah improves his advantage, renews the siege of Jaunpur, and occupies Kanauj. |

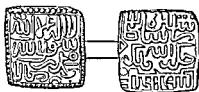
A.H.	A.D.	
947	1540	Total defeat of Humáyun at Kanauj Shír Sháh occupies Agrah and Dehli, and subsequently the Panjáb Humáyun retreats to Bhakkar Shír Sháh's expedition against the Ghakars in the Panjáb he erects the <i>new</i> Fort of Rhotas (lat 33°, long 73° 20')
949	1542	Reduces Málwah, Rantambhór surrenders, Multán annexed
950	1543	Occupation of Ráisen, and treacherous destruction of the garrison after surrender
951	1544	Invasion of Márwár, engagement with Maldeo, submission of Chitor.
952	1545	Siege of Kalnjar, and death of Shír Shah in the trenches (12th Rabí ul awwal) ¹

No 340 Gold. Weight, 167 grs Unique

Obverse—السلطان العادل لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Reverse—सा सर सहो १५७ حلد الله ملكه شرشاء السلطان

No 341 Gold Square piece. Weight 168.5 grs Kalpi Square areas, with dotted margins Two specimens Col Guthrie



لا اله الا الله

part

Erskine's

220

Sir Henry Elliot was lik reforms regarding which we he will be found to have collected patient investigators into this int. details will probably appear in the f

in course of publication under Professoram an edifice of note, is described as being

شرشاء

سلطان

حلد الله ملكه

श्री मेर सहि

The reading of the place of mintage is uncertain, the letters *كلا* alone being fairly legible, so that the city the die was designed to indicate may possibly have been *Kaldnūr*

No 342 Gold Weight, 166 4 grs Round coin

Square area

لا اله الا الله

محمد رسول الله

Square area

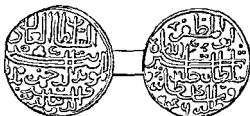
شیر شاه

سلطان

حلد الله ملكه

Margins illegible

No 343 Silver Weight, 163 grs Unique¹ Col Guthrie



السلطان العادل المود بتائد الرحمن فريد الدنا والدس

ابوالمطهر شيرشاه سلطان حلد الله ملكه و سلطانه ٩٣٦

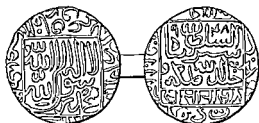
Shir Shāh's defeat of Humāyun, at Chonsa, dates 9th Safar, 946 A H (June, 1539 A D)²

built in the middle of a great reservoir of water The monument rises from the centre of the tank, which is about a mile in circumference, and bounded on each side by masonry the descent to the water being by a flight of steps, now in ruins The dome and the rest of the building is of a fine grey stone — Hamilton's Hindūstān, i p 231

¹ See J R A S N S vol 1 p 222

² Erskine, ii, p 173, Stewart's Bengal, p 142

No 344 Silver Weight, 171 grs Unique Struck at the capital, Dehli, A H 948



لا اله الا الله

محمد رسول الله

Margin—الصادق ابانكر

عمر العاروق عثمان العنان

على المرتضى

٩٤٨

السلطان

شيرشاه

حلد الله ملكه

سرى سىرى ساه

Margin—ابو المظفر مراد الدسا

والدين صرف محسرت دهلي

No 345 Silver Weight, 168 5 grs (oxydized) Agrah, A H 948

Square areas

لا اله الا الله

محمد رسول الله

شورشاه سلطان

حلد الله ملكه

Margin—مراد الدسا والدين

ابو المظفر صرف اكره ٩٤٨

سرى سىرى ساه

Margin—The usual legend, comprising the names of the four associates, with their honorific titles

No 346 Silver Weight, 176 grs. Shírgarh, (9)49 A.H.¹
(Prinsep collection.²)

Obverse—Square area, لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Margin—³اناكر الصديق عمر الفاروق عثمان ذي الوريث
على المرتضى

Reverse—Square area, شیر شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه

Margin—श्री सर साही *Srī Ser Sāhī*

فريد الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر ضرب شیركده ٩٤٩

No 347. Silver Weight, 176 grs. Coins similar in legends to
No 346. Struck at Gwálor, A H 951, 952.

The Hindí legend varies slightly in the orthography, and usually
runs श्री सर साह.

¹ Shírgarh, i.e. *Rhotas*, the fortress situated on the table land, five miles by four, on the left of the Són (lat. 24° 38', long 84°), taken by stratagem from the Hindú Rája by Shír Sháh (p. 393 *anté*), and converted into a refuge and place of safety for his family and treasures during his wars with Humáyún — *Kín-i Akbari*, ii 32 See also Briggs's *Ferishtah*, ii 114, Tieffenthaler, i. 309, Buchanan, i. 434, Hamilton's *Hindustán*, i. 281; Erskine's *Bábar and Humáyún*, ii 147, Thornton's *Gazetteer*, *sub voce*

² The silver coin of a similar type to the above, described by Marsden under No. DCCXXIX, as dated 945, is not so defined in the only specimen of the kind in his cabinet in the British Museum. Marsden was unable to detect the Hindí inscription on the margin of the reverse of this medal, which, with the aid of a better specimen, such as the specimen now described, is clearly recognizable.

Marsden's No. DCCXXXVII is seen from the original coin to have been struck at گوالیر *Gwalior*, and not at "Korah"

³ دى الوريث "Possessor of two lights," in reference to his marriage with two daughters of the Prophet.

No 348 (pl v fig 179) Silver Weight, 176 grs (Also Marsden, DCCXXXIII) No mint specified A H 948, 949, 950

Circular areas

لا اله الا الله

محمد رسول الله

شر شاه سلطان

حلد الله ملكه

و سلطان

Margin—السلطان العادل

Margin—فريد الدسا والدس

اباكر عمر عثمان على

ابو المظفر साही १५०

Some of these coins, in addition to the exclusively Muslim devices, such as the Seal of Solomon, etc., have clearly defined outlines of Hindu *Sacastikas* at the divisional gaps of the marginal legends, which may possibly connect them with the Malwah expedition of Shih Shah

No 348a The curious coin here engraved is inserted less on account of its historic importance than for the exemplification of the artistic model upon which some of the best specimens of the flowing style of Akbar's early mintages were based



No 349 Variety of No 348 Weight 175 4 grains Struck at Sharifabad, A H 949

The name of شريف آباد takes the place of the ordinary سلطان on the obverse area A second coin from the same mint, in the British Museum, is dated in 951 A H

The *Ain-i Akbari* notices Sharifabád as a *Sirkár* of Bengal, containing 26 *Maháls*, with an assessment of 2,24,88,750 *dáms* = 5,62,213 rupees. The leading township in the list of *Maháls* is *Bardwan* (lat 23° 12, long 87° 56, 75 miles N W of Calcutta) —Gladwin, ii p 13, and iii p 14

No 349a The greater number of this class of coins are absolutely deficient in any record of the place of mintage. This may be due to a variety of causes—simple want of space in the general die arrangement of the legends, advised omissions of the names of localities of the case of money struck in movable camps, or the supposition of a more subtle motive, attributable to an intentional contrast between the *quasi* home of Shír Khán at Sharifabad and his triumphant occupancy of *حایباد* *Jáhanpádh*, "the asylum of the world," or *DEHLI* in its full significance,¹ on the immediate expulsion of his Mughal adversaries

No 350 Silver Weight, 169 grs. Unique (My cabinet)

Chunar, A N 949

Circular areas

لا اله الا الله

محمد رسول الله

Margin—ابوبكر الصديق

عمر الخطاب عثمان الغاروق

على المرتضى السلطان العادل

شر شاد السلطان

جلد الله ملكه

وسلطانه

Margin—مريد الدبا والدين

ابوالمظفر صرب حار ۹۴۹

स्री सर साही

¹ There need be no reserve in admitting that the *حایباد* which occurs at the conclusion of the Sultán's titles (after the *ابوالمظفر*) in exceptional cases, has hitherto been read as part and parcel of the honorific designations of the monarch himself instead of what parallel examples now sufficiently prove it to be, the abrupt and irregular insertion of the name of the mint.

Shír Khán seems to have acquired the important Fort of Chunár as early as 937 A H. It originally passed into his hands on his marriage with Lad Malek, the widow of Taj Khan Sárangkhání, who held the stronghold for Sultán Ibráhím Lodí, and subsequently for the Emperor Bábar.¹ On Sultán Mahmud Lodí's defeat by Humayun, in 937 A H, Shír Khán, after basely deserting the former, temporized with the latter, and succeeded in retaining possession until 938 A H, when Humáyun conceded to him the title to Chunár and his other fiefs.

No 351 Silver Weight, 175.2 grs (Marsden, dccxxx)

Mints generally unrecorded, but two specimens in the British Museum have the name of Sharífabad inserted in the field after ملكه² (946, 947) A H 946, 947, 948 (four specimens) 951, and 952

Square areas

لا اله الا الله

محمد رسول الله

السلطان العادل

Margin—ابوبكر عمر عثمان علي

شرشاد السلطان

جلد الله ملكه ٩٤٦

श्री सेर साही

Margin—

مريد الدسا والدين ابوالمطهر

NB In some cases where space admits وسلطه is added after ملكه

¹ History of India Babar and Humáyún Erskine II pp 131 134 Stewart's Bengal p 120, Bábar's Memoirs by Leyden and W Erskine (London, 1826) pp 405 407 408

² Marsden's own published coin, No dccxxx has the name of the mint fully and freely legible on its surface though he himself did not detect it

No. 352. Silver. Weight, 170 grs. Rantambhor.¹ A.H. 949.
Square arcas.

The *Kalimah*.

Margin—The names and titles
of the four companions.

۹۴۹

شیر شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه

श्री सर साह

Margin—السلطان العادل

أبوالمظفر فريد الدنيا والدين

* * رنتمبھور

No. 353. Silver. Weight, 173 grs. A broad thin piece. A.H. 750.
Bhānpūra (lat. 24° 30', long. 75° 45').



Legends generally as in No. 352, but the Persian letters are very crudely though clearly formed, and the Hindi name is even less definitely expressed. The conclusion of the obverse marginal record seems to run ضرب بھانپور سنہ "Struck at Bhānpūr, San. 950," the figures following-on at the top of the square area. The doubtful sentence might possibly be read as ضرب شادجھانپور, but *Bhānpūr* seems to be the preferable rendering.

¹ The strong fortress of Rantambhor, in the province of Ajmīr (lat. 76° 23', long 26° 1'), 75 miles S.E. of Jaipur, surrendered to Shīr Shāh in A.H. 949 = A.D. 1542 (Erskine, ii. 432), and, with its dependencies, was assigned as a Jāgīr to 'Adil Khān, the eldest son of the Sultān (ii. 439). Sirkār "Rhantenpoor" is stated, in the *Āin-i Akbari*, to have contained 83 *mahals*, measuring in all 60,24,196 *bigahs*, with a revenue of 8,98,64,576 *dam*s (or 22,91,614 rupees) —

No 354 Silver Weight, 170 grs Kalpi, A II 949
Square areas

لا اله الا الله

شر شاه سلطان

محمد رسول الله

حلد الله ملكه

صرب كالپی

سسه ۹۴۹

Margin—Names and honorific
titles of the four companions

Margin—श्री सर सा

مريد الدسا etc

No 354a Silver *Half Rupee* Weight, 88 grs A II 948

This half piece, with its *demi* proportion, brings the normal and official weight of the full rupee up to 176, out of the *theoretical* 178 grains

No 355 Copper Weight, 310 grs A II 948, 949, 950, 951

Obverse—في عهد الامر الحامي الدين الدنان ۹۵۱

Reverse—ابو المظفر شر شاه سلطان حلد الله ملكه

No 356 (pl v fig 185) Copper Weight, 315 grs
Agrah, A II 950 (or 951?)

Obverse—Area, في عهد الامر الحامي ۹۵۰

Margin, السلطان العادل مريد الدين والدسا

Reverse—Area, شر شاه سلطان صرب اكره

Margin, ابو المظفر حلد الله

No 357 Copper Highest (exceptional) weight 329 grs ¹
Hissâr, A H 950

Obverse—Square area, شہر شاہ سلطان صرب حصار

Margin, حلد اللہ ملکہ و سلطانہ

Reverse—Square area, بیعتد الامر العالمی

Margin, * اللہ * ۲ *

No 358 Similar coins, varying in the minor details of the legends

Gwâlior, A H 950, 951, 952 (Highest weight, 312.5 grs.)

Narnol,² A H 948, 950, 951 (Highest weight, 322 grs.)

Shîrgarh, A H 950, 951 (Highest weight, 314 grs.)

Biana, A H 951 (Highest weight, 315 grs.)

Kalpi, A H 949 (Highest weight, 311 grs.)

NOTE ON SHIR SHAH'S COINS

Shir Shâh's reign constitutes an important test point in the annals of Indian coinages, not only in its specific mint reforms, but as correcting the progressive deteriorations of previous kings, and as introducing many of those improvements which the succeeding Mughals claimed as their own. Though it is to be conceded that their occupation of Hindûstân was followed by marked elaboration in the artistic developments of the local mints—due either to the more cultivated taste of the northern sovereigns, or to the superior excellence of their foreign workmen, still, associated with these mechanical ameliorations, no effort seems to have been made

¹ Average weight of four specimens, 316 grains

² Narnol was celebrated for its copper maces and mints. See *infra*, p. 416

by these Chaghatái kings to assimilate their system of coinage to the wants of their new subjects. The intention, in this regard, appears rather to have been to force upon the conquered country the style of coin and scheme of exchange in use in the distant kingdoms whence the invaders came. This exotic system, owing, however, to causes other than any default of its own, was doomed to be but short-lived, inasmuch as Shír Sháh soon sat in the place of Humáyún; and, with the advantages of his individual local experience and clear administrative capacity, quickly reconstructed the currency upon the most comprehensive basis; and when this operation is followed out into its nicer shades, we are satisfied that as the abundance of his coins now extant attests the magnitude and settled nature of his power, so do the numerous geographical records they display assure us of the unusual completeness of his subjects' recognition of his sway.

Foremost among Shír Sháh's monetary improvements stands the supercession of the use of the time-honoured, though most indeterminate, admixture of silver and copper, and the employment in lieu thereof of avowedly simple metals—a cursory glance at any cabinet of the coins of the later Pathán monarchs will satisfy the inquirer of the interminable abuses a coinage composed of mixed metals of unequal value was subject to under the administration of careless workmen, unscrupulous rulers, and seldom severely honest mint officials; were there no other object in view, this motive alone would suffice to prove the policy of the changes introduced.

The authoritative remodelling of the coinage effected at this period appears from internal evidence to have been accompanied by a revision and readjustment of the relative values of the lower metals of silver and copper.

There are no data to show at what exact rate silver exchanged against gold in the time of Shir Shah, but we have been able approximately to determine the ratio in 725 A H as 7 or 8 to 1 (p 235 *antè*), and Akbar's official enumeration of the weights and relative values of his gold and silver coins demonstrates, beyond a doubt, that silver in his day stood to gold as 9 4 to 1

Abul Fazl's casual allusion to certain additional details of Shir Sháh's coin system, in illustration of that adopted by his own master, throws much light on our present inquiry, and with the aid of the test the coins themselves supply, permits of our forming a fairly approximate idea of the ruling scale of the more common monetary exchanges

I have previously assumed, from existing specimens of the silver money of Shir Sháh, that the original mint standard of these pieces was calculated at an average weight of 178 grains, if not more. Abul Fazl's statement on the point, scrutinized more critically than heretofore, affords a singularly close confirmation of this inference. I find it recorded in no less than four excellent copies of the original Persian *Ain i Akbari*, that the rupee of Akbar, which was avowedly based upon that of Shir Sháh, weighed $11\frac{1}{2}$ *mashas*, the same weight (expressed in distinct words) is assigned in these MSS to Akbar's *Jaláli*, which is confessedly identical in value with the former. I mention this prominently, as Gladwin in his translation (i pp 34, 37, etc) has given $11\frac{1}{2}$ *mashas* as the weight of these two coins, and Prinsep (*Useful Tables*, p 19), in accepting Gladwin's figures, was led to place the weight of the old rupee at nearly four grains below its true standard.¹

¹ *Ain i Akbari*, Calcutta edition, 4to, 1783. I take this opportunity of noticing some further errors of Gladwin's original MSS in connexion with this

There is some doubt as to the precise weight we have to allow to the *másha*, which varied considerably in different parts of India. Prinsep has determined the Dehli *masha* to be 15.5 grains (Useful Tables, pp. 19, 20), and admitting this estimate, the result shows that Shīr Sháh's rupee ought to have weighed 178.25 grains of what was esteemed pure silver.

The assignment of 15.5 grains to the Shīr Sháhī *másha* is equally well borne out in the test afforded by Akbar's own coins. In order to avoid the very probable error of mistaking the identical class, among three but little varying denominations of the gold coinage, to which any given specimen within our reach should belong, I confine my reference to the silver money of Akbar, which, though differing in its various mintages, in types and legends, was preserved intact, uniform in weight and value. Marsden has contributed an example (No. DCCCXXIV) of a square Jaláli of this Padsháh weighing 176.5 grains. Had the official *tolah* at this time been fixed at 180 grains, this coin would virtually contain four grains more than the law required, as it is, even allowing for wear, it shows a return of 15.3 grains to each of the $11\frac{1}{2}$ *mashas* of 15.5 grains, which should, under the higher scale of weights, originally have constituted its specific total on issue from the mint.

The adoption of this 15.5 grain *masha*, as a standard, necessitates a concurrent recognition of a proportionately increased weight in the *tolah* as then in use, we can scarcely suppose the twelve *mashas* composing the *tolah* to have aggregated 186 grains, while the *tolah* itself remained at the 180 grains modern usage has assigned to it. We have fortunately at

subject—: p. 31, under Ilahi, "for 12 *mashas* $13\frac{1}{2}$ *ruttees*, read "12 *mashas* $1\frac{1}{2}$ *ruttees* " and for "is in value 12 *rupees*," read "10 *rupees* " At p. 37, line 10, for "12 $\frac{1}{2}$ *mashas*, read "11 $\frac{1}{2}$ *mashas* "

hand a second means of proving the question in the ultimate determination of the intrinsic contents of the pieces constituting the lower currency of the period, and the result will be found to show sufficient confirmation of the theory which has already placed the *másha* of Shír Sháh at 15·5 and the *tolah* at 186 grains troy. Forty *dáms* of copper, we are told, were in Akbar's time equivalent in account, and ordinarily in actual exchange,¹ to one rupee; and the *dám* of copper is itself defined at five *tanls*, or one *tolah* eight *máshas* and seven *ratís* in weight. The measure of *value* thus specified is likewise distinctly stated to have been a continuation of a previously existing species of money, which, at the moment when Abúl Fazl wrote, went by the name of *dám*. There can be but little hesitation in admitting, almost *primá facie* on the evidence available, that the copper pieces classed under Nos. 355, 358, were the identical coins of Shír Sháh, to which the succeeding *dáms* of Akbar were assimilated; or, in other words, that they were in weight and value (whatever their name) the *dáms* of the Afghán Sultán. It is a nicer point to determine the precise contents in grains attending the professed mint issue of these coins; but first taking the figures now proposed for *máshas* and *tolahs*, we obtain from one *tolah* eight *máshas* and seven *ratís*, at 186 grains per *tolah*, a sum of 323·5625 grains; and then testing this return of the actual present weight of extant coins, we obtain a very reasonably close approximation to our figured result. It is true that the general average of the various existing provincial coins of this class, minted during the reigns of Shír Sháh and his Afghán successors, would necessarily run somewhat below the rate of 323·5 grains; but we have to allow a considerable per-centage for loss by wear

¹ See above, p. 360.

in such heavy coins, composed, as they were, of copper, which metal would always continue more freely current, and consequently suffer far more from the abrasion incident to frequent transfers, than the more carefully guarded and less readily exchanged silver or gold. However we may, without claiming too much margin on these grounds, fairly consider ourselves within the mark in identifying the general series of coins under review as having originally an intentional standard of 323.5 grains, inasmuch as we can at this time produce several specimens of the coinage weighing 322 grains, and in one instance, of a Hissár coin, we can reckon no less than the large overplus of 329 grains. Added to this, we have the indirect evidence of Ferishtah that in his day there was a *paisa* (or fixed weight? پول) which was rated at $1\frac{1}{2}$ *tolahs*, which, at 186 grains the *tolah*, gives the close though higher return of 324.5 grains.

At the same time, it would be impossible to reduce *per contra* the coins which furnish our means of trial to any thing like so low a general average as would admit of 314 grains (or the produce of the simple 180 grains *tolah*) being accepted as the normal issue weight.

The later and more ample investigations which have suggested themselves during the progress of this enlarged work on "The Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Dehli," bear out, in a remarkable manner, the accuracy of the results previously obtained from Shír Sháh's extant coins. Now that we have ascertained the precise application of the term *tank*, as distinguished from *tanlah* or any other misleading association, we are able to check the return obtained from the definition of the weight of the *dam* as one *tolah* eight *mashas* and seven *ratis* (which produces a total of 323.5625 grains), by the second estimate of five

tankas, a weight which Bábar himself defines as 32 *ratís*¹ [or 56 grains], and which crops up under the palpable and tangible form of the mediæval representatives of the old *purana* in the present series (Nos 102, 108, 118, *et seq*) Thus latter calculation produced a return of 280 grains (56×5), which proved to be the exact amount required to constitute the old *paisa*, forty of which went to the 175 grain *silver tankah*, giving a grand total of 11,200 grains of copper to 175 of silver, or at the exchange rate of the two metals of 64 to 1

We need not subject the old copper *tank* to any tests or trials by the new copper standard, as the value of that metal in reference to silver was avowedly altered from the rate obtaining when the coined *tank* or *purana* first constituted the secondary authoritative and corrective measure And here we are forced to encounter another supposed difficulty we have seen that allowance had to be made for the increased weight of the *masha* consequent upon the advance on the rate of the *tolah* and rupee, but the question of the *rati* did not form part of the then leading argument, but by parity of reasoning, this weight must equally have felt the change, and hence we find that as the old *rati* of the early Patháns stood at 175 grains, so the revised *rati* under Shir Sháh and Akbar rose to 19375 grains (186—96), or by the *dám* test, 323 5625—167 [the number of *ratís* in a *dám*] to 19375,—a solution which will reconcile the difficulty heretofore experienced in the admission of the correctness of my independently devised estimate of the weight of the ancient *rati*:²

¹ Page 222 *anti*

² Gen Cunningham (Jour As Soc Bengal, 1865 p 46) proposed to correct my estimate of 175 into 18229, making the eighty *ratís*, which is rather a

The exchange rate of copper and silver in Shīr Shāh's time would appear from these returns to have ranged at something over 72 6 to 1 ($178\ 25 - 129\ 1\ 25$ [*i.e.* $323\ 5625 \times 40$] = $72\ 60$).¹

THIRTY-SEVENTH KING (A.D. 952-960, A.D. 1515-1552).

'Ādil Khān, the eldest son, had been nominated as the successor to the throne of Shīr Shāh. Jalāl Khān, the younger brother, however, taking advantage of his absence from the capital at the time of the death of their father, assumed the imperial dignity under the title of Islām Shāh; and not long afterwards, 'Ādil Khān made a formal resignation of his birthright, and saluted Islām Shāh as *Sultān*, simultaneously accepting, for his own portion, the *Jagīr* of Bīāna. Eventually, seeing cause to distrust the good faith of his brother, 'Ādil fled to Mēwat, and went into open revolt. This futile effort was quickly crushed by the Sultān, and 'Ādil took

standard weight, equal to 145 832 grains. This calculation is reproduced, and the inference reiterated by the General in his article, "On the Indian Prince Sophytes," in the Numismatic Chronicle (October, 1866, p. 230), and he further extends his comparisons to the ancient *punch-marked* thirty two *raṭī purāṇas*, two [exceptional] specimens of which he has found to weigh as much as 56 5 grains each, marking an excess of *half* a grain upon my extreme limit. I should not be disposed to allow this fact to disturb my previous determination of the standard of 56 grains, as the accretment of the half grain in such rare instances might be due to many extraneous causes, indeed, I should rather argue from the General's own data, the result of which he specifies as "out of 186 specimens, ten only weighed "above 55 grains," that my maximum of 56 was preferable to his of 58. Mr N. S. Maskelyne estimated the *raṭī* of Bābar's time at 1 862—1 80, the basis of his calculations being Humāyūn's diamond.—J. R. A. S. 1866, p. 152.

¹ Col. W. Anderson made his return 70 1.—Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 22. He seems, however, to have worked out his totals from the mere text of the *Kitāb Akbarī*, without the all important check of coin weights.

refuge in Bihár, where all traces of his eventual fate are lost. This outbreak was followed by a rebellion in the Punjáb, under 'Azim Humáyún, which was for the time subdued by the defeat of the insurgents. The rest of the reign of Islám was disturbed by repeated insurrections, and during this period he had to reckon no less than three remarkable escapes from assassination. He died in 960 A.H.

No. 359 (pl. v. fig. 190). Silver. Weight, 168 grs Common.

A H. 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960.

Obverse—Square area, لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Margin, ابابكر الصديق عمر الفاروق عثمان العون علي المرتضي

Abábakr the true, 'Umar the discerning, 'Usmán the defender, 'Alí the chosen.

Reverse—Area, اسلام شاه ابن شيرشاد سلطان خلد الله ملكه
بهي ईसलाम साहि

Margin, جلال الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر السلطان العادل ٩٧٧*

* The العون "The defender," "patron," also "servant," is a somewhat doubtful reading, as on many coins there seems to be a dot over the third letter, making it العون. Marsden has given this word as العون, but the best cut specimens of Islám's mintage display the medial ع or غ in its perfect shape. The proper word is العنان. Islám's coins are very dubious in their orthography in other respects, the ابن being frequently written بن, and the साही Sháhí being used indiscriminately with साहि Sháhl.

The same uncertain method of expressing the Devanágari equivalent of the Persian name of شیرشاد Shír Sháh is also to be seen in its full defects on the coins of that prince.

No. 360. Marsden, DCCXLIV.

Varieties—Agrah, 952.

„ Gwálor, 952, (953), 957.

„ Satgáon, 951, 952, 953.

„ Shakk-i Bakar, 953, 959

„ Other dates, 956, 958, 960

Square areas.

لا اله الا الله

محمد رسول الله

٩٥٢

Seal of Solomon

اسلام شاه ابن

شهر شاه سلطان

خدا الله ملكه و سلطانه

सी इसलाम साह

Margin—The names and titles
of the four companions

Margin—حلال الدين و الدنيا

ابو المظفر ضرب ستكاهو

Some examples vary the Hindí orthography of the name of Islám to
इसेलेम इसेलाम सह, etc.

No 360a. A half piece of this type. Weight, 84 5 grs.

No 361. Silver. Weight, 171 grs New variety. (My cabinet)
Sharífábád, A.H. 953.

Circular areas.

The *Kahmah*.

اسلام شاه سلطان

ابن شهر شاه

سلطان خدا

الله ملكه

Margin—ابوبكر عمر عثمان
علي السلطان العادل

Margin—جلال الدنيا والدين ابو

المظفر (ضرب) شريف آباد ٩٥٣

श्री इसलाम साही

No 361a Similar coin, without any mint record Dated 952 A H

No 362 Silver Square coin Weight, 172 and 178 grs
A H 954, 956 Col Stacy

Obverse—The *Kalimah*

Reverse—اسلام شاه ابن شر شاه سلطان حلد الله ملكه
[श्री] इस्लाम

No 363 Copper Weight, 315 grs A H 952, 953, 954, 955,
956, 957, 958, 959

Obverse—في عهد الامر الحامى الدين الدمان

Reverse—ابوالمطر اسلام شاه ابن شر شاه سلطان حلد الله ملكه

No 364 Copper Weight, 38 grs

Obverse—اسلام شاه شر شاه سلطان

Reverse—حلمه الرمان العادل

No 364a Small coin Shīrgarh A H 953

U Inscription of the time of Islām Shāh, A H 952, on 'Imad ul Mahk's Well at Dehli

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم در عهد و زمان سلطان السلاطین ابوالمطر
اسلام شاه بن شر شاه سلطان حلد الله ملكه و سلطانه با كرد اين
چاه مومنانه بروج رسول الله ملك عماد الملك عرب حواحه
عبدالله لادر قرشى نادر الملك حصرت دهلى فى سنة اثنى و

Nos 35 and 61, Syud Ahmad's Asār us Sunnadeed. حمس و تسعمائة

V Second Inscription of the time of Islám Shah, A H 958, on 'Imád ul Malík's *Bádshá* at Dehli

* * تمام شد این ناوری و چاد در ماه رمضان در سه بهد پیکاد و
هشت هجری بروج محمد مصطفی رسول درگاه حضرت اله در زمان
عادل اسلام شاه بن شر شاه ساکنه کارکن دین ار حمله بشی
حواجه عماد الملک عرف عبدالله لادر فریشی بده کارکن ناوری
امدوار عایت * * Nos 34 and 60, Syud Ahmad's *Asár us Sunnadeed*

There is also a short inscription, dated, in Persian, A H 954, on 'Isa Khán's *Makbarah* — Syud Ahmad's *Asár us Sunnadeed*

The public buildings, for which Islam Shah's reign is remarkable, are the Fort of Selim Gurb, marked B on the accompanying plan of Dehli, and the extensive fortress of Mankot or Manghar (32° 37' N 74° 55' E), 76 miles N of Amritsar

THIRTY EIGHTH, THIRTY NINTH, AND FORTIETH KINGS

The historical events of the reigns of the three kings, who represent the obscuration of the Pathán dynasty of Dehli, are so interwoven with one another that it may be convenient to notice them in concert. On Islam Sháh's death, his son, Firuz Khán, a boy of twelve years of age, was for the moment elevated to the throne of his father, only to be quickly disposed of by Mubariz Khán, a nephew of Shir Sháh, who thereupon usurped the sovereignty under the title of Muhammad 'Adil Sháh. Equally infamous and ignorant, the self-elected Sultán entrusted the direction of his kingdom

to one Himu (a Hindú, accused by his enemies of having once been a shopkeeper), fortunately, the individual thus selected was as capable, as he subsequently proved himself true, and for the time he loyally upheld the fortunes of the monarch he served. The Sultan's singular tendency to resume *Jagirs* and other governmental estates from the parties in possession, and to transfer them to new nominees, apparently without any further object than to show his power so to do, led to an attack upon his person in open Darbar, from which a hasty and undignified flight but narrowly saved him. In 961 A H, so serious a rebellion was organized that the monarch was obliged to march against the insurgents in person, when he attacked and routed them near Chunar. Shortly after this, Ibrahim Sur, 'Adil's cousin and brother-in-law, revolted, and obtained possession of Dehli and Agrah, obliging 'Adil Sháh to confine himself to the eastern portions of his dominions. No sooner, however, had Ibráhim seated himself on his newly-erected throne, than another competitor started up in the person of Ahmad, a nephew of Shir Shah, who, under the designation of Sikandar Shah, assumed royal honours, and defeating Ibráhim, succeeded to the rulership of his lately acquired territories. In the mean time, Muhammad Khan Gura, governor of Bengal, disavowed allegiance to Muhammad 'Adil, but was eventually vanquished and slain by Himu. Prior to this last action, Humáyun, operating in another direction, had repossessed himself of Agrah and Dehli, and thus, in acquiring Sikandar's provinces, found himself in direct antagonism with Muhammad 'Adil. Himu, hearing of the death of Humayun, which occurred about this time, and leaving his master in safety at Chunar, advanced upon Agrah, which he entered unopposed, and thence proceeded to Dehli, where he overcame Tirdi Beg,

the Mughal governor. He next prepared for a march on Lahor, but was met on the plain of Paniput by Bahráṁ, the guardian of the young prince Akbar, and defeated and slain, after a display of considerable valour. 'Adil Shah continued to reign in his eastern dominions till he was killed, in 964 A H, in an encounter with Bahádur Sháh, a pretender to the throne of Bengal.

MUHAMMAD ADIL

No 365 (pl v fig 194) Silver Weight, 174 grs Rare
A H 961, 963 One specimen struck at Narnol¹

Obverse—Square area, لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Reverse—Square area, محمد عادل شاه سلطان حلد الله ملكه ٩٦١

श्री महमद सह *Sri Mahamad Sah*

Margins illegible

No 366 Copper Weight, 322 grs Rare
A H 961, 962, 963, 964

Obverse—ابوالمظفر محمد شاه سلطان حلد الله ملكه

Reverse—في عهد الامير الحامي الدين الدان ٩٦١

No 367 Copper Similar coins struck at Gwálor
A H 961, 962, 963, 964

IBRAHIM SUR

No 368 Copper Damaged coin. Mr Freeling's cabinet

Obverse—* * * ابوالمظفر ابراهيم

Reverse—٩٦١ * * * صرب محصرت

¹ Narnol is a district N W of Agra and in Akbar's time comprised seventeen *mahals* with an area of 20 80 046 *bigas*. The capital is situated in lat 28° 5 N long 75° 52 E 86 miles S W from the city of Dehli. It is a place of considerable antiquity, but now greatly reduced in size. Abul Fazl mentions that this *mahál* was celebrated for its copper mines and mints were established in various localities for the immediate production of coin.—Kin i Akbari ii 48 and iii 48, Hamilton's Hindústán, i. 401 and p. 403 *note*.

SIKANDAR.

No. 369 (pl. v. fig. 197). Silver. Weight, 175 grs. Unique. .
A.H. 962.

Obverse—Square area, لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Reverse—سلطان سكندر شاه سور, ٩٦٢ * * *

Margins illegible.

No. 370. Copper. Weight, 35 grs. Rare. A.H. 962.

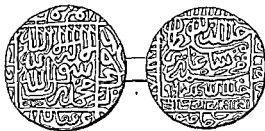
Obverse—سلطان سكندر

Reverse—سكندر شاه سلطاني

The subjoined coin is somewhat out of place in the present series, which professes to limit itself to purely Pathán times; but the design of the piece identifies itself curiously with the prior mintages of Shír Sháh and the succeeding types accepted by Akbar. (Stewart's Bengal, p. 147.)

JALAL SHAH OF BENGAL.

No. 371. Silver. Weight, 170 grs. Unique. Jájpúr, A.H. 968.



Square areas.

لا اله الا الله

محمد رسول الله

Margin—ابابكر صديق عمر

خطاب عثمان عفان علي

سلطان جلالدين

محمد شاه غازي

خلد الله ملكه ٩٦٨

آي جلال ساہی

Margin—

ابوالمظفر ضرب جاجپور

AKBAR'S COINAGE

I do not propose to include in the pages of this work any extended notice of the coins of Akbar, but there are many details in the practical working of his mints, of which we have an unusually full and complete record, under the hand of his minister, Abul Fazl, that specially illustrate the antecedent developments of the coinages of his predecessors. His fiscal theories, whether in the elaboration of pure revenue accounts, or the subordinate adjustments of scales and weights, confessedly followed local standards, and, as such, may be said essentially to belong to the prior period. As bearing upon this transitional epoch, four points of interest present themselves—I The remodelled and reconstructed coinage itself, with its singularly complicated adaptations to minor and pre-existent subdivisions of the currency. II The more general question of the relative values of the precious metals at the moment, which forms a curious item in the exchanges of the Eastern world. III The very complete scheme of Seigniorage in recognized operation as between the State and the bullion merchant. IV The geographical distribution of the provincial mints, which necessarily followed, in more or less completeness, the ancient traditions of the land.

I COINS OF AKBAR

GOLD

NAME.	WEIGHT			VALUE
	Tola	Masha	Rata	
1 <i>Amir Sikandah</i>	101	9	7	= 100 <i>L'al Jalali mu/ars</i> at 10 rupees each = 1,000 rupees, or 40,000 <i>dam</i> s

NAME	WEIGHT	VALUE
Tolaḥs Māshas Ratīs		
2 Smaller variety of No 1	91 8 0=100	round muḥars at 11 māshas of gold or 9 rupees each = 900 rupees or 36,000 dams
3 رھس <i>Raḥas</i> . . .		= $\frac{1}{2}$ of Nos 1 or 2, as their individual contents may indicate
4 آتمہ <i>Ātmah</i>		= $\frac{1}{4}$ of No 1
5. بسست <i>Binsat</i> .		= $\frac{1}{8}$ of No 1 Similar coins, officially declared of the lower values of $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{16}$, $\frac{1}{32}$, and $\frac{1}{64}$ of No 1
6 چار گوشہ <i>Chakar Góshah</i> (10 square)	3 0 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	= 30 rupees Stated in the text to be $\frac{1}{50}$ of No 1, but seemingly nearer the proportion of $\frac{1}{30}$
7 چگل <i>Chugul</i> .	2 9 0=3	round muḥars (No 10), at 9 rupees each = 27 rupees Recorded in the official summary as $\frac{1}{50}$ of No 2, though in actual value more like the previous fraction of $\frac{1}{30}$
8 الی <i>Ilāḥ</i>	1 2 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	= 12 rupees
9 اصابی <i>Aṣṭabī</i>	12 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	= 10 rupees The square L'al Jalāḥ is stated to be identical in weight and value (The standard equivalent of 400 dams)

NAME	WEIGHT	VALUE
Tolahe Māshas Ratīe		
9a لعل حلائی <i>L'al Jalāhī</i> (Old)	1 0 $1\frac{3}{4}$	= 400 <i>dāms</i> , or 10 rupees The extra weight beyond that allowed in the new coin, No 9, is probably due to the lower degree of fineness of the gold, ¹ which was confessedly less pure, <i>quoad</i> its metal, than the new coins issued from Akbar's better organized mints
10 عدل گتکھ <i>'Adl Guṭkah</i>	11 0	= 9 rupees Also known as the ordinary <i>round muhar</i> , in value 360 <i>dāms</i> ²

Most of these latter coins have minor subdivisions of $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{16}$, $\frac{1}{32}$

Marsden has several gold coins weighing as much as 168 grains, which may be supposed to correspond with the *round muhar*, No 10, whose full issue weight would have been $(15.5 \times 11) = 170.5$ grains. Among the rest, he has a *Mihrdā*, No DCCCVIII, 166½ grains. And there are pieces, Nos DCCCXVIII and DCCCXIX, of 187.5 grains and No DCCCXXVI of 188.0 grains, which are all very close upon the weight required for No 9.

¹ Calcutta text p 27 Gladwin i 37, Blochmann, p 32. There is some obscurity in this passage. Gladwin's text gave a weight of $10\ 13\frac{3}{4}$. My Dehli MSS all concur in the figures $10\ 1\frac{3}{4}$ and accord with the weight adopted in the Calcutta text. Under these circumstances the translation of the context as 'of the greatest degree of fineness' or 'quite pure' must be modified to suit the facts. The original passage runs in my Dehli MSS—
اول لعل حلائی و آن
نکرامی نام روشناس * ورن نک تولچہ ویک سرح و سه ربع و عیار
نکمال (نکامل var) تمب چہار صد دام

² Also called under other forms, *Mihrdā* and *M'ulni*

SILVER.

روپيه *Rupee* (round)¹ = 11 *māshas* 4 *ratīs*.

جلالہ *Jaldālah* (square) = 11 *māshas* 4 *ratīs*.

Subdivisions—درہ *Darb*, $\frac{1}{2}$; چرن *Charn*, $\frac{1}{4}$; پاندو *Pandu*, $\frac{1}{2}$,
اشت *Ashṭ*, $\frac{1}{8}$; دسا *Dasā*, $\frac{1}{16}$; کلا *Kalā*, $\frac{1}{16}$; سوکی *Sūkī*, $\frac{1}{16}$.

The old Akbar Shāhi round rupee was estimated at 39 *dāms*.
The above coins were the revised representatives of 40 *dāms*.²

COPPER

دام *Dām* = 1 *tolah* 8 *māshas* 7 *ratīs*, or about 323·5625 grains of
copper (estimating the *ratī* at 1·9375 grains).

ادھیلہ *Adhēlah* = half a *dām*.

پاولہ *Pāulāh* = a quarter of a *dām*.

دمری *Damrī* = one-eighth of a *dām*.

The numismatic world in Europe was greatly excited a short time ago by the discovery of a Bactrian coin of Eukratides (B.C. 185), in gold,³ of the unusual weight of 2593·5

¹ Inscription Obverse—الله اکبر جل جلاله
Reverse—Date

² To show how completely the *dām* was understood to form the unit or standard in all exchanges, it may be noticed, in addition to the theoretical evidence quoted above, as to the adjustment of the coinage in the higher metals to the more comprehensive totals in *dāms*, that, practically, the *dām* was the ready money of prince and peasant. Abūl Fazl relates that a *kror* of *dāms* was kept ready for gifts etc., within the palace, "every thousand of which is kept in bags." Bernier mentions the continuation, even to Aurangzēb's time, of the same custom of having bags of 1000 *dāms* ready for distribution. His words are—"et leur fait donner sur l'heure un sac de Peyssas, ce qui vient à environ cinquante francs" (u p. 65).

³ This piece is highly finished in some of its artistic details, but is crude and imperfect in other respects. The difficulty of driving the high relief of the obverse die home is curiously illustrated by the palpable reapplication of that die, and a second resort to the hammer, but, in the process, the reverse die, which was less deep in its engraved surface, had been disregarded and shifted half way round, so that the second impression nearly obliterates the first, but still the former has left traces, in the texture of the gold, of the previous impact. The

grains, constituting, in the Greek scheme, a *twenty-stater piece*, or $\frac{1}{15}$ *talent*. It is curious that the Greeks should so early have adapted themselves to Eastern notions of bullion and ingots, although they reduced the crude lump of metal to the classic form in which it now exists. This numismatic precedent introduces us appropriately to the massive medals of Akbar's mints. There was an idea abroad at one time that these *Sihansah coins* were merely occasional pieces, struck more for vanity sake than for real utility; but the number of specimens found ready prepared amid Akbar's reserved treasures,¹ and the continuity of their issue by succeeding

medal presented no particular novelty, such as should enhance its value to a numismatist, except its weight, as the type of the helmeted head of the king and the *Dioscuri reverses* were sufficiently common. The coin is now in the Bibliothèque in Paris. See M. Chaboulet, *Revue Numismatique*, 1867, p. 382, Gen. Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1869, p. 220, Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. iii figs. 1-3, Prinsep's *Essays*, II. 185, etc.

علاي ده كرور روپيه و هزار كرور لعل خاصة كه پادشاه دست
 خود خدا كرده بود ده من بخته طلاي غير مسكوك و هفتاد من بخته
 نقره غير مسكوك و شص من بخته نول ساه و پنجبرار كرور تكه

—Fershtah, Bombay Lithographed Persian text, i. p. 517.

That is to say—*a* 10,00,00,000 'Alai rupees (Nos. 132-134, *supra*)

" " *b* 1,000,00,00,000 *Special gold Muhars* (or square L al
 Jalāls, No. 9 of Akbar's *own* coins)

" " *c* 10 *mans* of uncoined gold.

" " *d* 70 " " " silver

" " *e* 60 " " " copper

" " *f* 5,000,00,00,000 *tankaas* (? copper)

Briggs's translation (ii. p. 281) varies some of these items, for instance, *b* is given as 1 *kror* only, and is associated with the 'Alai of the opening sentence

Khāfi Khān's enumeration, in the *Muntakhab al Lubāb*, is as follows —

و وقت وفات او كه عرص خزانہ گرفتہ سواي اشرفمهاي كلاس كه
 از صد توله تا پانصد توله هزار اشرفي در خزانہ موحود بود و ده كرور

kings,¹ seems to indicate that they were consistently designed to serve for the purposes of larger payments, such as our civilized age recognizes in one hundred pound notes, etc. Moreover, there was clearly a great temptation to the production of such single pieces when the State or the Sovereign himself, as will presently be shown, could realize the seigniorage of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, or from £5 10s to £27 10s, by each application of the royal dies

روپيہ و اشرفی طلائی یارده ماشہ و سیرده و حارده ماشہ و دو صد و
 هشتاد و دو من طلائی عمر مسکوک و سصد و هشتاد من نقره نون
 خام سوای حواہر کہ قیمت آن ارسہ کرور روپیہ تجور نموده بود

—Calcutta Persian text, l. p 243 The printed Persian text is obscure The MS of the Royal As Soc, No 77, xviii, slightly improves the run of the sentence

a No definite specification is given, except the general reference to Gold Mubars of *three* varying standards (8, 9, 10, Akbar's series? whose weights are erroneously given as 11, 13, and 14 *mdshas*), and an allusion to the massive gold pieces of 100 *tolahs* and upwards to 500 *tolahs*

b 10,00,00,000 rupees

c 272 *mans* crude gold

d 370 " , silver

g 1 *man* of selected jewels, valued at 3 00,00 000 rupees

R Hawkins also speaks of 20 000 gold pieces, of 1,000 rupees each, and 50 000 silver pieces of "Selim Sha of 100 Toles a piece," as existing in Jahāngir's treasury—*Purchas* 1 217

¹ a There is a gilt copper cast of a Gold Mubar of Shāh Jahān, dated Shāh jahānābād, 1064 A H., in the Asiatic Society's Collection at the India Museum, measuring $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and weighing in its representative metal 2 lbs 1 oz 7 dr The original gold medal itself is fully described by Richardson, in his *Persian Dictionary* (edition 1823, p 840), where it is stated to have weighed 'above 70 ounces, being 4 inches in diameter, and "4 lines in thickness" In its legend it purports to represent a piece of 200 *mubars* —b There is a silver medal at Dresden of Aurangzēb, minted at Shāhjahānābād in the tenth year of his reign, 4 4 inches in diameter, which weighs 5 Saxon lbs = 5 1545 lbs English "Kehr," *Aurenkzēb*, Lipsia, 1725 See also Marsden, pp 641

The Persian monarchs also issued large pieces in silver Marsden, No DLVI, p 466 gives a coin of Husain Shāh (A.H 1121) weighing 4 083 grains, and Prinsep has described a piece of the same monarch (A.H 1118) weighing 844 3 grains—*Jour As Soc. Bengal*, 1838, p 415

II From this summary of the minted coins of Akbar, as distinguished from the fanciful interchanges of names and terms applied to one and the same piece or measure of value, which have needlessly puzzled modern commentators, we may pass to the higher consideration of ratios of gold and silver, as proved by the rate of exchange formulated for the two metals in the practical mechanical department of the mint, and simultaneously promulgated in official language as the accepted rate of exchange

Abúl Tazl's copious and somewhat tedious statistics may be concentrated in their leading results as follows —

No 1 The massive piece, the Sihansah, of the above table, in value 100 L'al Jalalis, gives a return of weight in *gold* of *tolahs* 101, *mashas* 9, *ratis* 7 = 1000 *silver* rupees: 18328::172,500 (172 5×100×10):1::9 4118

No 2 The second or lower Sihansah, of 100 round *muhars*, produces a similar result Weight in *gold*, *tolahs* 91, *mashas* 8 = 900 *silver* rupees: 16500. 155250. (172 5×100×9):1::9 409

No 6 Weight in *gold*, *tolahs* 3, *mashas* 0, *ratis* 5½ = 30 rupees of 11½ *mashas* each: 549 84::172 5×30 (5175 0):1:.9 4118

No 7 Weight in *gold*, *tolahs* 2, *mashas* 9 = 27 rupees: 495::172 5×27 (4657 5):1::9 409

No 8 Weight in *gold*, *tolah* 1, *mashas* 2, *ratis* 4½ = 12 rupees: 218 90::172 5×12 (2070 0):1::9 4563

No 9 Weight in *gold*, *mashas* 12, *ratis* 1½ = 10 rupees: 183·28::172 5×10 (1725 0):1::9 4118

No 10 'Adl Gutkah, or Round Muhar, also called Miharáb Weight in *gold*, 11 *mashas* = 9 rupees: 165::172 5×9 (1552 5):1::9 40909

These estimates are made upon the bases of the ordinary *tola* of 180 grains, the *māsha* of 15 grains, and the *ratī* of 1 875 grains. The question of corresponding values in the English or any other scale need not affect the parallel result.¹

¹ I gave more prominence to the above calculations, and even tested anew my earlier returns by the independent totals afforded by the larger sums originally omitted, because the obvious result of gold being to silver as one to 9 4, had been called in question by an official of the Calcutta mint (a Dr Shekleton), who, however, while unable either to correct my data, or to produce any possible evidence against my conclusions, ventured to affirm that "9 4 to one is a relative value of gold to silver, which never could really have existed" (*Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1864, p. 517). Nevertheless, here is a series of comparative weights and values, furnished by the highest authority of the day, and each and all producing returns absolutely identical up to the first place of decimals. My original estimates were sketched and published at Dehli, in 1851, where I had access to the best MSS., to the most comprehensive range of antiquarian relics, and at command the most intelligent oral testimony in the land. When reprinting Prinsep's "Useful Tables," I had occasion to quote these calculations, and was able to fortify them, had it been needed, by the precisely analogous results obtained by Colonel W. Anderson, who had tried Abūl Fazl's figures, from MSS. pure and simple, without any disturbing difficulty about coins (Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, London edition, vol. II p. 32). But if there were the faintest reason for doubting so moderate a rate as one to 9 4, the whole discussion might be set at rest by Abūl Fazl's own statement as translated by Gladwin into English in 1783, when, in completing a very elaborate review of the profit and loss of refining gold, for the purpose of coinage, he concludes, and the process "leaves a remainder of about one half a *tola* of gold, the value of which is four rupees" (I p. 44).

Richard Hawkins, who was at Agra in A.D. 1609-11, during the reign of Jahāngir, has left a notice of certain accumulated treasures of that prince which he was permitted to behold, and amongst the rest he specifies, "In primis, of Seraffins Ecberis, which be ten rupias apiece." To this passage is added, in a marginal note, that "a *tole* is a *rupia* *challany* [current] of silver, and ten of these *toles* are of the value of one of gold" (*Purchas* 1. 217). This evidence might at first sight seem to militate against the conclusion arrived at from the official returns above summarized, but the value of gold was clearly on the rise, and one of the aims of Akbar's legislation on metallic exchanges, which had necessarily been disturbed by progressive modifications in the relative values of the precious metals, was manifestly to secure an authoritative *even* reckoning by tens and hundreds. The old round *mukhar* (No. 10 of the above list) represented the inconvenient sum of nine rupees, or 360 *dāms*. By raising the weight of the piece to the higher total

III. The next section of Akbar's mint organization, which I have now to notice, is the amply defined official recognition of the law of seigniorage. The following outline table gives the results of a very uniform and well understood royalty, or mint charge, of over $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon the conversion of bullion into coin; and the Oriental craving after small profits is graphically confessed in the proviso that the State

given under No 9, the gold *dhms* was made equivalent to ten rupees, or in fiscal reckoning to 400 *dhms*. Similarly, in the case of the silver coin, the old rupee passed for 39 *dhms*, in the new currency, a value of 40 *dhms* was secured, not by an increase of weight, but by the declared and doubtlessly achieved higher standard of the metal employed, aided by the advantage that contemporary mintages so readily secured in India.

The question of the relative values of gold and silver formed the subject of discussion at a subsequent meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (6th December, 1865), when Colonel Lees stated his objections to some of my inferences. As I understand, he freely admits the correctness of the figures given above to establish the rate of one to 94, but he is disposed to distrust "calculations based upon mint regulations, during a period when the principle of a standard was but imperfectly understood even in Europe, and upon a unit of measure not accurately ascertained." I trust that the more ample details furnished in this volume will satisfy him that the Dehli mint authorities had arrived at very distinct notions of the comparative values of the precious metals, and had elaborated the details of exchanges with very considerable success, when the singular complications of previous currencies had to be taken into account. I have already seen and corrected the error of my first interpretation of Ibn Batutah's text; and as regards Gladwin's translation of the passage above quoted, "which leaves a remainder," etc, I have not the slightest wish to uphold it in the face of a more full and rigorous interpretation of the special text, but ordinarily, a linguist of good repute, who has translated so big a book as the *Āin-i Akbarī*, arrives at a pretty fair conception of the meaning of his author! I myself had no reserve in correcting Gladwin's figures, but in his simple reproduction of Indian phrases, I was quite content to follow such an authority without a critical re-examination of his Persian version. The argument about the half *tolah*, however, is as unimportant at the present moment as the now rectified passage of Ibn Batutah, the value of whose statements on the subject of local money has altogether been superseded by the more exact details contributed by the *Masālik ul Absār*, pp 238, *supra*. I see that Sir T. Roe, incidentally speaking of the weight of Jahāngir, specifies it as 9,000 rupees, or £1,000 sterling.

should benefit for the amount of interest the merchant might possibly have had to pay.

Outlay by mer- chants in current coin, for crude metal.	Total Mint return after refining.				Merchants' return, with fractional profits.				State seigniorage.				
	Muhars	Rs.	Dáms	Jitals	M.	R.	D.	J.	M.	R.	D.	J.	
100 L'al Jálali													
Gold Muhars	a.	105	39	25	0	100	12	37	3½	5	12	3½	0
950 Rupees													
(crude metal													
test)	b.	1006	27	20		953	21	10½		50	13	0	
950 Rupees													
(old coin test)	c.	1015	20	0		954	29	0		50	24	0	
1044 dáms (the													
cost of one													
man of cop-													
per)	d.		1170	0			1062	19½			58	20	

Mint charges—*a.* Rs. 7.26.20½; *b.* Rs. 2.33.2; *c.* Rs. 10.12.14½; *d.* Rs. 1.8.18.

Dr. H. Blochmann (pp. 37, 38) notices some minor errors in the simple addition of the several items, . . . and there are obvious discrepancies in the totals assigned for the mint charges. Gladwin's figures are also more or less uncertain (i. 45).

IV. AKBAR'S MINTS.

اتك Attok.	اگره Agrah.* †
اجمير Ajmír.	الور Alwar.
احمدآباد Ahmadábád.* †	الهاباس Ilahábás.†
(Gujarát).	اوده Oude.

* In cases where the gold employed belongs to the State, an extra deduction is made for the interest the merchant would otherwise have had to pay, to the amount of rupees 6.37½ (Gladwin, 6.10.12½).

AKBAR'S MINTS—*continued*

اوجھن Ujain †	سمبھل Sambhal
باداؤن Badāon,	سورت Surat †
بنارس Benares	سہارنپور Saharanpur
بنگالہ Bengāl * †	سالکوٹ Sālkot
بھکر Bhakar	کانچ Kanauj
پٹن Patṭan.	کابل Kābul * †
پٹنہ Patṇah †	کالپی Kālpī
بھیرہ Bhirah	کشمیر Kashmīr †
ٹانڈہ Tandah †	کلانور Kalanur
جالندھر Jalandhar	گوالیار Gwalior
جاونپور Jaunpur	گورکھپور Gorakhpur
حصار مسرور Hissār Fīruzah	لاہور Lahor †
دہلی Dehli †	لکھنؤ Lakhnau
رنتھمبور Ranthambhor	متھرا Mathura.
سارنگپور Sarangpur	ملتان Multān †
سرونج Sironj	منڈو Mandú.
سرہند Sirhind	ناگور Nāgor
(var سرہند)	ہردوار Hardwār

Those mints marked * were alone permitted to coin gold. The issue of silver money was restricted to the cities marked with †, and the other towns coined nothing but copper.

In order to form a correct estimate of the effective value of money, and the purchasing power of the income of the State it is necessary to take into consideration the prices of provisions at the period. The following Table will give some idea of the extraordinary cheapness of food, though the

prices are sufficiently high for the discriminated articles of luxury.

AVERAGE PRICES OF PROVISIONS IN AKBAR'S REIGN.¹

Wheat, گدم, 12 *dáms* per *man* of 55'467,857 lbs. *avoirdupois*.

„ Flour, according to fineness, from 22 to 15 *dáms*.

Barley, جو, 8 *dáms* per *man* (ground barley, 11 *dáms*).

Rice, برنج and شالی, varieties, according to qualities, ranging from
the extremes of 110 to 20 *dáms* per *man*.

Pulse, مونگ (*Phaseolus mungo*) 18 *dáms* per *man*.

Mash, ماش (*Phaseolus radiatus*) 16 „ „

Nakhúd, نخود (*Cicer ariselinum*) 16½ „ „

Moth, موته (*Phaseolus aconitifolius*) 12 „ „

Juwár, جوار (*Holcus sorghum*) 10 „ „

White Sugar, شکر سفید 128 „ „

Brown „ شکر سرخ 56 „ „

Ghi (clarified butter) روغن زرد 105 „ „

Sesamum Oil, روغن تیل 80 „ „

Salt, نمک 16 „ „

Sheep from 6½ to 1½ rupees each. Mutton, 65 *dáms* per *man*.

Goats' flesh, 54 *dáms* per *man*.

The official *man* of Akbar's reign is defined as 40 *sirs*, each *sir* comprising the weight of 30 *dáms*. This gives a return for the *man* of 388,275 grains, or very nearly half a hundred

¹ Gladwin, i p 85, Blochmann, p 62, Calcutta Persian text, p 60. Aból Fazl remarks—"The prices, of course, vary, as on marches, or during the rainy season, and for other reasons, but I shall give here the average prices."

weight avoirdupois.¹ So that, at the rate of 12 *ddms* for the *man* of wheat, and the exchange of 2s per rupee, the quarter of corn would only cost about 3 $\frac{4}{10}$ *d*. Fīrūz Shāh's price current (p. 283), reckoned in *jitals*, would give an almost identical result, *i.e.* 8 *jitals*, or 3*d*. in English money, for the then *man* of wheat, estimated at 28 lbs., and 'Alā-ud-dīn's earlier (A.D. 1295-1315) and assumedly forced reduction upon ordinary current prices would differ only to the almost imperceptible extent of half a *jital*—"or 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ *jitals* per *man*, of 28 lbs (p. 160).

COMPARATIVE COST OF LABOUR

Bricklayers	7 <i>ddms</i> to 4 <i>ddms</i> per day (or 4 $\frac{3}{10}$ <i>d</i> . to 2 $\frac{4}{10}$ <i>d</i>)
Carpenters	7 " 2 " "
Bīldārs ²	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ " 3 " "
Ordinary labourers	2 " " (or 1 $\frac{4}{10}$ <i>d</i>)
Matchlockmen, in the royal army,	6 rupees per month.
Archers	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ rupees "

¹ The figures are as follows - 323 5625 grains (the *ddm*) $\times 30 \times 40 = 388,275$ 0 The English half hundredweight, 56 lbs avoirdupois, is 392,000 grains. Then 24 pence $\div 40 = 2$ 4 farthings, or 12 *ddms* = 7 2 pence. As regards the *jitals*, the sum runs, 24 pence $\div 64 = 1$ 5 farthing, or $1\ 5 \times 8 = 12$ farthings, or 3 pence. Colonel Anderson's independent but somewhat vague estimate of Akbar's *man* was 368 880 0 grains—Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 22. It has been so far demonstrated, at p. 161, that the *man* of 'Alā-ud-dīn's time (A.D. 1295-1315) ranged at something over 28 lbs avoirdupois, and I should have been greatly inclined to distrust the extraordinary weight now assigned to Akbar's *man*, were it not that Abū'l Fazl expressly mentions (p. 100) that "formerly" the *sur* consisted of 18 *ddms* in some parts of Hindūstān, of 22 *ddms* in other divisions of the country, and of 28 *ddms* on the accession of Akbar, who himself raised it to 30 *ddms*. Moreover, we have seen that the weight of the *ddm* itself was also largely increased from its ancient limit in Shīr Shāh's reign.* Under these circumstances, objection can scarcely be taken to the total now produced from the figured data and extant coins of the period, which, strange to say, closely accords with R. Hawkins's rough definition of Jahāngīr's *man* as "55 lbs weight"—Purchas i. 218.

² One who works with a *bīl* or *bel*, "a pickaxe." A navyy

AKBAR'S REVENUES

I have had occasion to advert incidentally to the revenues of India during Akbar's reign, in connexion with the State resources of his predecessors. As much obscurity has prevailed with regard to the correct comprehension of values, even where figures were unassailable, I revert to the subject in its appropriate association with Akbar's monetary system, in order to exhibit more fully the absolute data available for the determination of the relative amount of the taxes imposed upon the dominions of that great monarch, at the period.

It must be premised, in forming any comparative estimate of these assessments, that each province had to furnish a State contingent of cavalry and infantry, specified in full detail with other imperial demands, apart from the mere money payments entered in the divisional accounts, so that the country had to support a very large, though probably ineffective, army, over and above its ordinary revenue liabilities. The number of men mustered in this Zamindari force is reckoned at the very high figure of 4,400,000, in addition to the due proportion of horses and elephants each sub division was bound to maintain. No reduction is made in the State demand for the payment of these troops, who are styled *نومی* *Bumi*, "Landwehr," in contradistinction to the better organized Royal army. If we estimate the cost to the country for this force at the very low figure of two rupees per man (including the purchase and feed of horses and elephants), it amounts of itself to a sum of more than

ten millions of pounds, which as a purely speculative estimate might honestly be doubled.

I repeat the substance, and enlarge the context, of Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad's statement of the amount of the current income, and again venture to impress upon all those who would follow up the inquiry, the value of the evidence on this and cognate subjects contributed by an author who had served for many years as *Bakhshi*, or military accountant, practically as co-administrator of the province of Gujarát.

Speaking of the country of Hindústán, he proceeds—"Its length from Hindú Koh, on the borders of Badakhshán, to the country of Orissa, which is on the borders of Bengal, from west to east, is 1680 legal *kos*. Its breadth from Kashmír to the hills of Barújh, which is on the borders of Súrat and Gujarát, is 800 *kos* Iláhi. Another mode is to take the breadth from the hills of Kumáon to the borders of the Dakhan, which amounts to 1000 Iláhi *kos*. . . . At the present time, namely, A.H. 1002, Hindústán contains 3,200 towns (including 120 large cities) and 500,000 villages, and yields a revenue of 640,00,00,000 *tankahs*."¹ The author adds, that as there is no room for the list of cities in this summary, he will give them in full alphabetical order on some future occasion, a task he seems never to have fulfilled.

Abúl Fazl's returns of Akbar's revenues are summarized from his imperfect data in the subjoined table, amounting, with later returns, but with all other deficiencies, to a total of *five arbs*,² *sixty-seven kroris*, *sixty-three laks*, 83 thousand and 383 *dams*, a sum not very far removed, with fair allowances

¹ See p 383 *anté*, Elliot's Index, p 204, Morley's Catalogue of the Royal Asiatic Society's MSS, p 61, Stewart's Catalogue of Tipoo Sultan's Library, p 11.

² The *Arb* **اَرْب** is 100 millions, or 100 *kroris*, the *kror* is 100 *laks*, and the *lak* 100 thousand.

for omissions in such imperfect documents,¹ from the speculative correction of *six arbs*, proposed at p. 389. There is no suspicion of Abúl Fazl's want of faith, even if any motive could be imagined for such a tendency, but it is clear that a comprehensive work like the *Aín-i Akbari*, a positive gazetteer of all India, must have been compiled from the statistics of various State departments, working with but little systematic concert, and its tabulated returns but imperfectly brought up to the changes of the day.²

I. Allahábád ...	21,24,27,119	<i>dáms</i>
II. Agrah ...	³ 54,62,50,304	„
III. Oude ...	20,17,58,172	„
IV. Ajmir ...	⁴ 28,61,37,968	„
V. Ahmadábád (Gujarát) ...	43,68,02,301	„
„ „ Port dues	1,62,628	„
VI. Bihár ...	22,19,19,404	„
VII. Bengal ...	59,84,59,319	„
VIII. Dehli ...	60,16,15,555	„

¹ The majority of these *taksim jam'a* statements refer to the fifteenth year of the reign, and probably indicate a much lower revenue than the improved management of the succeeding twenty-five years secured for the State. The incorporation, however, of the returns of the new *súbahs* plainly demonstrates the system of later additions to the original text.

² Akbar claims to have abolished numerous vexatious taxes, which it is admitted "used to equal the quit rent of Hindústán" (Gladwin, i 359). A full enumeration of these cesses is given in the *Aín-i Akbari*, and among other State demands thus abandoned figures the especially Muhammadan *Jizyah*, or Poll-tax (see note 5, p 272 *ante*), levied upon unbelievers. This, in effect, constituted a rough species of income-tax, being graduated according to the means of the different classes of the Hindú community. It may be said to have been invidious, in the one sense, but it was simple, easily collected, and had none of the odious inquisitorial adjuncts of the British Income tax. We find the *Jizyah* however, in restored vigour during succeeding reigns.

³ Gladwin has 54 Arors.

⁴ This total is obtained from the *Sirkár* details. Gladwin's text, p 105, has only 2,28,41,007 *dáms*.

IX	Kábul ¹	{ Simple <i>dáms</i>	27,27,17,786	<i>dáms.</i>
		{ Converted money, omitting payments in kind }	5,01,23,200	„
X.	Láhor	... ..	55,94,58,423	„
XI	Multán	... ..	² 38,40,30,589	„
XII	Málwah	... ..	24,06,95,052	„
			<hr/>	
			4,61,25,57,820	old <i>súbahs</i>
XIII	Berár ³ (from the <i>taksim jam'a</i>)		69,50,44,682	<i>dáms</i>
XIV	Khandés ⁴		30,25,29,488	„
XV.	Ahmadnagar (not entered).			
	Tatah	... ..	6,62,51,393	„
			<hr/>	
			1,06,38,25,563	new <i>súbahs</i>
			<hr/>	
Grand total		... ..	5,67,63,83,383	<i>dáms</i> , at the rate of 20 <i>double dáms</i> per rupee=
			Rs 28,38,19,169, or	£28,381,916

¹ Otherwise designated as "Súbah Kashmir" (u p 152), "Kábul, cited as the modern capital" (p 199), subordinated equally as "Sirkár Kábul," but under the final *taksim jam'a*, p 107, elevated to the rank of "Súbah Kábul." Under Sirkár Kandahár (p 196), there is a full definition of the relative values of the coins, in which the comparative estimates are framed, viz, 18 *dinhrs* = 1 *tumdn*, each local *tumdn* being = 800 *dáms*. A note is attached to the effect that the *tumdn* of Khorásán is 30 rupees, and that of Irak 40 rupees.

² The Multán return, in the preliminary statement, is 15,14 03,619, both in the Calcutta revised text and in Gladwin's old translation. The above figures exhibit the combined *taksim jam'a* or detail apportionment of the revenue of the several districts included in the Súbah, entered in the working or administrative lists.

³ This return is taken from the detailed statements, pp 61-68. The returns are clearly imperfect, and filled up with fanciful figures in the lower totals, a fact which contrasts in a marked manner with the precision observed in the minor figures of the revenues of the more definitely settled provinces. The total here obtained, however, does not differ very materially from the summary of local *tankahs* quoted below from another part of the work, though it seems to indicate a later manipulation and elaboration of accounts. "This *súbah* (Berár) contains 13 *sirkdrs* divided into 142 *pergunnahs*. The *tankah* of this country is equal to eight of those of Debl. Originally the amount of revenue was 3½ *krors* of *tankahs*, or 56 *krors* of *dáms*, . . . during the government of Sultán Murád the amount rose to 64 26 03 272 *dáms*."—Kin & Akbari, Gladwin, u p 74.

⁴ The introductory summary of the Súbah of Khandés (p 66) estimates the

I have placed the subjoined estimates of the Indian imperial revenues, at various periods, in close juxtaposition with a view to availing myself of the opportunity of explaining the seemingly anomalous contrasts they present in their opening totals, and of tracing, in as much consecutive order as the materials admit of, the varying phases of the national progress.

	Silver Tankahs (or Rupees)	£ sterling at 2s per Rupee
Fírúz Sháh, A D 1351-1388.	6,08,50,000.	6,085,000 (p 272)
Bábar, A D 1526-1500	2,60,00,000.	2,600,000 (p 388)
Akbar, A D 1593.....	32,00,00,000.	32,000,000 (p 388)
Akbar, <i>estimated</i> later returns	33,14,87,772	33,148,777 (p 389)
Aurangzéb, A D. 1697.....	38,71,94,000.	38,719,400 (p 390)

The leading item of the relatively large income of Fírúz Sháh, with his avowedly narrowed boundaries, would naturally seem to conflict with the reduced total confessed to by Bábar, who boasted of so much greater a breadth of territory; but these difficulties are susceptible of very simple explanation. In Fírúz Sháh's time the country was positively full to overflowing of the precious metals, which had been uniformly attracted towards the capital from various causes for nearly a century previously. The innate wealth of the metropolitan provinces may be tested by the multitude of the extant specimens of the gold and silver coinages of the previous reigns, and the confessed facility with which millions might be accumulated by officials of no very high degree. The whole land was otherwise teeming with mate-

revenue at 12,64,762 Berári *tanlahs*, at 24 *dáms* the *tanlah*, that is to say, at 3,03,54,288 *dáms*, but the distribution list at p 60, 2nd part, raises the sum total to 1,26,47,062 *tanlahs*, or 30,25,29,488 *dáms*. There is clearly an error of figures in the first quotation, which the detailed totals of the 32 *pergunnahs* in themselves suffice to prove, as they mount up in simple addition to the still larger sum of 1,55,46,363 *tanlahs*.

rial wealth, and was administered by home-taught men, who realized every fraction that the State could claim.

Far different were the circumstances which Bábar's limited tenure of his straggling conquests presented. Tímúr had effectually ruined the land through which his plundering hordes had passed—what his followers could not carry away they destroyed; and while the distant provinces retained their wealth the old capital and all around it was impoverished to desolation; so that when the prestige of Dehli re-asserted itself under Buhlól Lódi, he was forced to resort to the local copper mines for a new currency (p. 363); and though public affairs and national wealth improved under his son Sikandar, the standard coin was only raised to something like $\frac{1}{16}$ silver to the copper basis, which, however, secured a more portable piece, and a more creditable value, a currency which found ready acceptance with races who had already been educated in the theory of mixed metals. The substantial prosperity of Hindústán under Ibráhím, the son of Sikandar, was absolutely unprecedented. Cheapness and plenty became fabulous even to the native mind, but this very prosperity of the people reduced, *pari passu*, the income of the king which was derived directly from the produce of the land, his dues being primarily payable in kind, so that when corn was cheap the money value of his revenues declined in equal proportion.¹ And thus it came about that

¹ It never, does not view to remedy this state of things that Akbar introduced his flow from another, the germ of that pernicious measure, Lord Cornwallis's Partition and elaboration. Akbar's intentions were equitable, and the pact as between 140 to 142 *pergunas* left little to be objected to; but the uniformity it was desired to produce. Originally dependent upon higher powers, and the Indian climate could not be made during the treaty. Hence, in bad seasons, the arrangement worked harshly against poorer cultivators, and threw them more and

when Babar examined the accumulated treasures of the house of Lodi, at Agrah, he found but little beyond the current copper coinage leavened with a small modicum of silver

The statistical returns of Babar's time were clearly based upon the old rent rolls of that unacknowledged originator of all later Indian revenue systems, Sikandar bin Buhlol. A single subdued confession in Bábar's table¹ suffices to prove this, and simultaneously with the retention of these State ledgers the interlopers clearly accepted the official method of reckoning in Sikandarí Tankahs, which, numismatically speaking, must have been almost the only coins available at the period, the prolific issue of which may be tested by the multitude of the pieces still in existence, and the completeness of the series of dates spreading over 26 continuous years of Sikandar's reign, already cited at page 366

The rest of these comparative returns may be dismissed with brief notice. The statement of Nizam ud din Ahmad is clear as to Abbar's revenues in A.D. 1593. The reception of the speculative return for the later period of his reign depends upon the accuracy of my rectification of Abul Fazl's Persian text, and the justification of my assumption that the *dáms*, in which the totals are framed, were double and not single *dáms*. For this correction I have no specific authority beyond the coincidence of Nizám ud din's employment of an identical measure of value in his parallel return, and the consistency with which the aggregate sum produced

more into the hands of usurers whose lawful Oriental rate of interest was enough to crush far more thrifty cultivators than the ordinary Indian *Ra yat*. The *ten* years settlement itself was based upon the average returns of the ten preceding harvests, from the fifteenth to the twenty fourth year (inclusive) of Akbar's reign —Gladwin i p 366

¹ No 5 Mewát, not included in Sikandar's revenue roll (p 390)

accords with the enhanced revenue of the kingdom under Aurangzéb

Here I take leave of this branch of my leading subject, which, if it fails to secure the attention of the general reader, cannot but assert its importance with those who interest themselves in the real welfare of India, and who are prepared to recognize the pervading influence of the past upon the possible future of the land Great Britain has accepted as a profitable heritage, without any very clear conception of associate responsibilities

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APPENDIX.

As the subject of Indian finance is just now attracting the serious attention of the English public, I have thought it advisable to reproduce in full the information summarized at pp 433-7, regarding the revenues of Akbar and Aurangzéb, and, further, to test my own deductions by some new data, which I have obtained since the previous pages were set up by the printer

The general list of addenda includes the following —

I A brief but curious passage from De Laet,¹ which furnishes a fresh and independent test of the values of the various currencies in which the revenue returns of Akbar were framed

II The summarized return of Sháh Jahan's revenues, for his twentieth year, from the "Badsháh Namah" of 'Abd al Hamíd, Lahorí, a contemporary statement, which was adopted in all its integrity by another living witness, Áshna Ináyat Khan, in his Sháh Jahan Namah, and finally incorporated in Kháfí Khan's work on the history of the house of Tímur

III The original text *in extenso* of Catron's comprehensive account of the land revenues of Aurangzéb, including his specification of other fiscal demands, raising the average burthen

¹ De Imperio Magni Mogolis sive India Vera Joannes de Laet Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Elzeviriana, 1631 The section of the work from which the extract now reprinted is taken constitutes the tenth or supplementary chapter on Indian history derived from contemporary national and other testimony, and translated into Latin from the Dutch. The dates of events are carried down to A D 1628

upon the country at large, to a second moiety or full equivalent of the sum obtained from the ordinary land tax¹

IV The statistics furnished by the traveller Bernier, which, though less full and complete than the associate return, are of considerable value, as being clearly derived from independent sources, and as confirming or correcting, as the case may be, the parallel figures preserved by Catron

The first statistical return hereunto appended is contributed by De Laet from immediately contemporaneous information, and refers to a third or final phase of Akbar's revenue accounts, when his successor came to take stock of his father's accumulated treasures and current rent roll. The document itself, which has only lately been brought to my notice,² furnishes a severe critical test of the soundness of the deductions previously arrived at from other sources. curiously enough, it confirms in the most definite manner my determination of the intrinsic value of the Sikandari Tankah (pp 369, 384, 388), and upholds, what I felt at the moment to be almost a *tour de force*, in the suggested substitution of *six* for *three* in the "hundred millions" of Akbar's revenue entered in the corrupt Persian text of Abul Fazl (pp 388*n*, 437), but, on the other hand, the context of the Latin passage raises a doubt as to my justification in substituting double for single *ddms* in the reduction of the given total into other currencies. There need be no reserve in confessing that *all* commentators upon the revenue returns of the *Ẹ́in* i Akbari have hitherto

¹ Catron, Histoire de l'Empire Mogol. Paris, 1716

² My attention was first attracted to this curious and very rare work by an excellent article in the Calcutta Review (October, 1870, January, 1871), on the 'Topography of the Mogul Empire' by Mr F Lethbridge, which traces, with equal patience and ability the geographical details furnished by the opening chapter entitled "*Indiæ sive Imperii Magni Mogoli Topographica Descriptio*"

concurred¹ in accepting the *dām* as $\frac{1}{6}$ part of a rupee, it is so defined in unmistakable terms in the table of coins (pp 360 n, 421), but, singularly enough, there is no such parallel declaration of its value when it is entered under the generic name in the section of the work devoted to the revenue details. We have seen how frequently, in the Indian system, a nominal coin of a fixed denomination possessed no tangible representative, but was left to be made up in practice of two half pieces (pp 361-2). So that if the archaic *Karsā* was so far a money of account as to be represented by two pieces of copper, and the *Buhloli* in like manner remained an uncoined penny payable by two half pence, we may readily admit their successor the *dām* to a similar theoretical and practical condition.

If we look to the origin of Akbar's revenue tables, there is much to support the view that the old *Sikandarī* or *double dām* continued to hold its place in the State ledgers. Akbar, following Babar's example, clearly took over Sikandar's original field measurements, even to the irrepressible *unit* of his yard measure (p 373). We have no knowledge of the precise currency in which Shīr Shah's accounts were kept, but to judge by the ultimate retention of so much of Sikandar's system, there was probably no needless interference with established money values. In regard to De Laet's definitions, in as far as they conflict with probabilities, I should infer that the process by which he obtained his alternative totals was the application of the coin values entered in other sections of his work,² to the grand total of 6,98,00,00,000 *dāms* furnished to

¹ Myself among the number. Erskine was the first to propose, with much hesitation the possibility of the alternative I now contend for.

² Especially from a notice on Akbar's treasures p 143 which however does not exhibit any profound knowledge of the subject. I may add, in connexion with

him by his informants. This is the process, as we have already seen, adopted by our own commentators, and in no way renders it obligatory upon us to accept any thing but the leading figures pure and simple, to test, therefore, the consistency of the results he arrives at, we must compare prior and subsequent statistics.

The true amount of Babar's revenue is now completely demonstrated and established by the new definition of the "Tanga" as $\frac{1}{8}$ of a rupee. The gradual increment upon Akbar's early return of the thirty ninth year (viz, £32,000,000) to £33,148,771 in later periods, and to £34,900,000 in the fifty first year, is consistent in the several gradational sums, and leads naturally up to Aurangzêb's improved revenues of £38,719,400.¹ The question we have now to decide is, can the second and third of these totals be reduced with any seeming reason to one half, or the sums represented by a computation of the original totals at $\frac{1}{8}$ of a rupee?

If Nizâm ud dîn's total of £32,000,000, expressed in now positively ascertained values, refers to Akbar's land revenue alone (in 1593 A D), as it would seem to do, and Aurangzêb's unquestioned modern currency (or rupee) income of £38,719,400 represents the parallel increase in the charge upon the land incident to the enhanced wealth of the country and irregularly extended boundaries, the reduction of Akbar's 6,98,00,00,000 *dams*, the sum returned for A D 1605, into £17,450,000, seems to be altogether inadmissible. It is true that Akbar professes to have abandoned taxes in amount "equal to the quit-rent of Hindûstan" (p 432), but that rent-charge throughout remained unaffected, these cesses were

the notes at pp. 422, 433, *and*, that De Laet's grand total of the contents of Akbar's treasure chamber, reduced into rupees, is defined at 19,83,46,666½ or £19,834 666

¹ I accept Catron's total, though his detailed sums do not quite accord with

confessedly outside the fixed state demand on the land. And Aurangzéb in his turn realized from similar sources, according to Catron, a sum which in like manner doubled the normal (land) revenue of the empire. A still more approximate test of comparative values is furnished by the computed revenues of an intermediate period, under Sháh Jahán, in 1648 A.D., when the accounts were still kept in the conventional *dáms*. These are stated by 'Abd al Hamíd to have amounted in all to the sum of 8,80,00,00,000 *dáms*.

I need not repeat the arguments already advanced in favour of the inference that these were *double ddms*, but the question may be

the aggregate furnished in his text. I have tabulated these returns for facility of reference.

1.	Dehli	... ..	1,25,50,000	rupees.
2	Agrah	... ..	2,22,03,550	"
3.	Láhor	... ..	2,33,05,000	"
4.	Ajmír	... ..	2,19,00,002	"
5.	Gujarát	... ..	2,33,95,000	"
6.	Málwah	... ..	99,06,250	"
7.	Bibár	... ..	1,21,50,000	"
8.	Multán	... ..	50,25,000	"
9.	Kábul	... ..	32,07,250	"
10.	Tata	... ..	60,02,000	"
11	Bakar	... ..	24,00,000	"
12.	Urecha	... ..	57,07,500	"
13.	Kashmír	... ..	35,05,000	"
14.	Allahábád	... ..	77,33,000	"
15.	Dakhan	... ..	1,62,04,750	"
16.	Berár	... ..	1,68,07,500	"
17.	Kandés	... ..	1,11,05,000	"
18.	Baglana	... ..	68,85,000	"
19.	Mandú ?	... ..	72,00,000	"
*20.	Bengal	... ..	4,00,00,000	"
21.	Ujain	... ..	2,00,00,000	"
22.	Rajmahal	... ..	1,00,50,000	"
23.	Bijapúr	... ..	5,00,00,000	"
24.	Golconda	... ..	5,00,00,000	"
				38,62,46,802

put broadly on its own merits, and apart from any foregone conclusion—does the sum of £22,000,000 (8,80,00,00,000 — 40 — 10) or the higher amount of £44,000,000 (8,10,00,00,000 — 20 — 10) more nearly accord with the clearly defined sum of £38,719,400 realized in A D 1697? was there anything in the history of the intervening half century to sanction the idea of an approximate advance of one third in the revenue during the period, as implied in an increase of nearly seventeen millions, or is it more within the limits of common sense to suppose that the subsequent collections should have fallen off to the extent of $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions? Undoubtedly the latter represents a less abrupt transition, and is in some degree accounted for by the loss of Balkh, Kandahar, and Badakshán, which figure for respectable sums in Sháh Jahán's list, and the temporary possession of which may have largely influenced the general trade of India, but otherwise the provincial totals are too little in unison to afford any very safe basis of extended comparison.

Finally, to set the question of approximate values completely at rest, I am able to produce the unofficial but very material testimony of Captain Richard Hawkins, in support of my theory, regarding the system of reckoning by *double dams*, to the effect that in A D 1609-1611 Jahángír's land revenue amounted to "50,00,00,000 rupees" (£50,000,000)¹ Our countryman dealt in round numbers and refers to no authoritative data, so that his leading figures may

¹ "The king's yearly income of his crown land is 50 crore of rupias, every crore is 100 lack and every lack is 100 thousand rupias. Side note—The rupia is two shillings sterling, some say 2s 3d some 2s 6d—Purchase, i 216

For Thomas Roe writing from Ajmir in A D 1615, adverts incidentally to Jahángír's revenue in the following terms — 'In revenue he doubtless exceeds either Turk or Persian or any Eastern Prince, the sums I dare not name — Let us to Archbishop of Canterbury in Churchill's Voyages, i. p. 659

be open to canvass, but the fact of rupee estimates being found intruding thus early upon the domain of the normal *dam*, enables us to check anew the relative values of the *dam* currency by the contemporaneous test of *rupee* equivalents. Under this aspect, my case may be said to be fully made out, no explanation, within the range of probabilities, would suffice to reduce the land revenues of 1605 A D to the single *dam* estimate of £17,450,000, in the face of a total of anything like an ordinary annual income of £50,000,000 in 1609-1611 A D

In conclusion, I recapitulate the contrasted returns of the nine periods

	Silver Tankahs (or Rupees)	£ sterling at 2s per rupee
Firuz Shah, A D 1351-1388	6,08,50,000	6,085,000
Bábar, A D 1526-1530	2,60,00,000	2,600,000
Akbar, A D 1593	32,00,00,000	32,000,000
Akbar, <i>estimated</i> later returns	33,14,87,772	33,148,777
Akbar, A D 1605	34,90,00,000	34,900,000
Jahangir, A D 1609-1611 . .	50,00,00,000	50,000,000
Jahángir, A D 1628... . . .	35,00,00,000	35,000,000
Sháh Jahan, A D 1648 . . .	44,00,00,000	44,000,000
Aurangzéb, A.D 1697 .. .	38,71,94,000	38,719,400

Aurangzéb's total revenue from various sources, 77,43,88,000 silver tankahs (or rupees), at 2s per rupee=£77,438,800 sterling

I Parebant tum ipsi hæ provinciæ *Kandahaer, Kabul, Kassamier, Ghassenie, & Benazacd, Guzaratta, Sinds, sive Tatta, Gandhees, Brampor, Barar, Bengala, Oriza, Ode, Malouru, Agra, Delly*, cum suis limitibus è quibus annuus census colligitur, uti constat è rationali Regis Achabar, VI Arab & xcviii Caror, Dam, id est, si ad tangas exigas III Arab and XLIX Caror tangarum, sive secundum monetam regni, XX tangas in singulas rupias computando, sut I Caror tangarum in V lack rupiar XVII Caror & XLV Lack rupiarum atque universus hic annuus census in Magnates, Ducesque & stipendia militum effunditur. De Thesauris a Rege Achabare relictis alibi diximus

II. General revenue return for the twentieth year of the reign of Sháh Jahán (A.D. 1648), from the "Bádsháh Námah" of 'Abd al Hamíd, *Láhorí*. The text adds, that at the death of Jahángír, in A.D. 1628, the Land Revenue of the State only amounted to 700,00,00,000 *dáms*, or £35,000,000. Various satisfactory causes are enumerated to explain the increase under Sháh Jahán.¹

1.	Dehli	...	...	...	...	...	1,00,00,00,000	<i>dáms</i> .
2.	Agrah	...	...	...	...	...	90,00,00,000	„
3.	Láhor	...	...	...	...	...	90,00,00,000	„
4.	Ajmír	...	...	...	...	...	60,00,00,000	„
5.	Daulatábád	...	...	...	...	...	55,00,00,000	„
6.	Berár	...	...	...	...	...	55,00,00,000	„
7.	Ahmadábád	...	...	...	...	...	53,00,00,000	„
8.	Bengal	...	...	...	...	...	50,00,00,000	„
9.	Allahábád	...	...	...	...	...	40,00,00,000	„
10.	Bihár	...	...	...	...	...	40,00,00,000	„
11.	Málwah	...	...	...	...	...	40,00,00,000	„
12.	Khandés	...	...	...	...	...	40,00,00,000	„
13.	Oude	...	...	...	...	...	30,00,00,000	„
14.	Telingánah	...	...	...	...	...	30,00,00,000	„
15.	Multán	...	...	...	...	...	28,00,00,000	„
16.	Orissa	...	...	...	...	...	20,00,00,000	„
17.	Kábul	...	...	...	...	...	16,00,00,000	„
18.	Kashmír	...	...	...	...	...	15,00,00,000	„
19.	Tatah	...	...	...	...	...	8,00,00,000	„
20.	Balkh	...	...	...	...	...	8,00,00,000	„
21.	Kandahár	...	...	...	...	...	6,00,00,000	„
22.	Badakhshán	...	...	...	...	...	4,00,00,000	„
23.	Baglánah	...	...	...	...	...	2,00,00,000	„
							8,80,00,00,000	„

Or at $\frac{1}{20}$ per rupee, 44,00,00,000 rupees, £44,000,000.

¹ This is avowedly a summary average, and not an absolute or formal return, but it is fully trustworthy, as the alternative rate at the commencement of the reign shows that the author (writing in the twenty-first year) had access to official documents for both periods.—Calcutta Persian text, ii. 710.

III. "Ce que nous avons dit jusqu'icy, est un préjugé favorable pour rendre croiable ce que nous allons dire. Sans doute on ne sera plus surpris des immenses revenus que le Mogol recueille de ses États. En voici la liste tirée des archives de l'Empire. L'état du produit de ce grand Domaine, que l'Empereur possède lui seul dans toute l'étendue de sa Souveraineté, étoit, en l'année 1697, tel que nous l'allons représenter. Pour en avoir l'intelligence, il faut supposer deux choses. Premièrement, que tous les Roiaumes de l'Empire se divisent en *Sarcas*, qui veut dire, *provinces*; que les *Sarcas* se divisent encore en *Parganas*, c'est-à-dire, en *Gouvernemens dans l'étendue d'une Province*. Ce sont, à proprement parler, des sou-farmes. Secondement, il faut supposer, que selon la manière de compter dans l'Indoustan, un *carol* vaut cent *laqs*, c'est-à-dire, dix millions; & qu'un *laq* vaut cent mille *roupies*: Enfin que les *roupies* valent à peu près *trente sols*, monnoye de France. Le Roiaume de Dely a dans son Gouvernement huit *Sarcas*, & deux cens vingt *Parganas*, qui rendent un *carol*, *vingt-cinq laqs & cinquante mille roupies* (1,25,50,000 rupees). Le Roiaume d'AGRA compte dans son enceinte quatorze *Sarcas*, & deux cens soixante & dix-huit *Parganas*. Ils rendent à l'Empereur, *deux carols, vingt-deux laqs & trois mille cinq cens cinquante roupies* (2,22,03,550 rupees). Ou trouve dans l'étendue du Roiaume de Labor, cinq *Sarcas*, & trois cens quatorze *Parganas*, qui rendent *deux carols, trente-trois laqs & cinq mille roupies* (2,33,05,000 rupees). Le Roiaume d'Asmir, ses *Sarcas* & *Parganas* paient, *deux carols, dix-neuf laqs & deux roupies* (2,19,00,002 rupees). Celui de Guzurate, qui dans son enceinte renferme neuf *Sarcas* & dix-neuf *Parganas*, donne à l'Empereur *deux carols, trente-trois laqs & quatre-vingt quinze mille roupies* (2,33,95,000 rupees). Le Roiaume de Malua, divisé en onze *Sarcas* & en deux cens cinquante petits *Parganas*, ne rend que *quatre-vingt dix-neuf laqs, six mille deux cens cinquante roupies* (99,06,250 rupees). On compte dans le Roiaume de Bear huit *Sarcas* & deux cens quarante-cinq petits *Parganas*. L'Empereur en tire un *carol, vingt-ſ-un laqs & cinquante mille roupies* (1,21,50,000 rupees). Les quatorze *Sarcas* partagent en quatre-vingt seize *Parganas* du Roiaume de Multan, ne donnent à l'Empereur que *cinquante laqs & vingt-cinq mille roupies* (50,25,000 rupees). Le Roiaume de

Cabul, divisé en trente-cinq Parganas, ne rend que *trente-deux laqs*, & *sept mille deux cens cinquante roupies* (32,07,250 rupees). Le Roiaume de Tata paye *soixante laqs*, & *deux mille roupies* (60,02,000 rupees); & celui de Bacar, seulement *vingt-quatre laqs* (24,00,000 rupees). Dans de Roiaume d'Urecha, quoiqu'on compte onze Sarcas & un assez grand nombre de Parganas, on ne paye que *cinquante-sept laqs*, & *sept mille cinq cens roupies* (57,07,500 rupees). Les quarante-six Parganas du Roiaume Cachemire, ne rendent que *trente-cinq laqs*, & *cinq mille roupies* (35,05,000 rupees). Le Roiaume d'Illaras avec ses dépendances rend *soixante & dix-sept laqs*, & *trente-huit mille roupies* (77,38,000 rupees). Le Roiaume de Decan, qu'on divise en huit Sarcas & en soixante & dix-neuf Parganas, paie un *carol*, *soixante & deux laqs*, & *quatre mille sept cens cinquante roupies* (1,62,04,750 rupees). Au Roiaume de Barar, on compte dix Sarcas & cent quatre-vingt-onze petits Parganas. L'Empereur en tire un *carol*, *cinquante-huit laqs*, & *sept mille cinq cens roupies* (1,58,07,500 rupees). Le grande province de Candis, que nous mettons icy sur le pied des Roiaumes, rend au Mogol un *carol*, *onze laqs* & *cinq mille roupies* (1,11,05,000 rupees). Le Roiaume de Baglana a quarante-trois Parganas. L'Empereur en tire *soixante & huit laqs*, & *quatre-vingt-cinq mille roupies* (68,85,000 rupees). On ne paye au Roiaume de Nando que *soixante & douze laqs* (72,00,000 rupees). Dans celui de Bengale on donne à l'Empereur *quatre carols* (4,00,00,000 rupees). Le Roiaume d'Ugen rend *deux carols* (2,00,00,000 rupees). Celui de Ragemahal un *carol*, & *cinquante mille roupies* (1,00,50,000 rupees). L'Empereur exige du Roiaume de Visrour & d'une partie de la Province de Carnatte *cinq carols* (5,00,00,000 rupees). Enfin le Roiaume de Golconde & une autre partie de Carnatte rend aussi *cinq carols* (5,00,00,000 rupees). Le tout supputé fait *trois cens quatre-vingt-sept millions de roupies* & *cent quatre-vingt-quatorze mille* (38,71,94,000 rupees, or £38,719,400). Ainsi à prendre les roupies des Indes pour trente sols ou environ de nôtre monnoye de France, le Domaine de l'Empereur Mogol lui produit tous les ans, *cinq cens quatre-vingt millions, sept cens quatre-vingt onze mille livres*. Outre ces revenus fixes du Domaine, qu'on tire seulement des fruits de la terre, le casuel de l'Empire est une autre source de richesses pour l'Empereur. 1°. On exige tous les ans un

tribut par tête de tous les Indiens idolâtres Comme la mort, les voyages, & les fuites de ces anciens habitans de l'Indoustan, en rendent le nombre incertain, on le diminue beaucoup à l'Empereur Les gouverneurs profitent de leur déguisement 2° Toutes les marchandises, que les Négocians Idolâtres font transporter, payent aux Douanes cinq pour cent de leur valeur Oramgzeb a exempté les Mahométans de ces sortes d'impôts 3° Le blanchissage de cette multitude infinie de toiles qu'on travaille aux Indes, est encore la matière d'un tribut 4° La mine de diamans paye à l'Empereur une grosse somme Il exige pour lui les plus beaux & les plus parfaits, c'est-à-dire tous ceux qui sont au dessus de trois huit 5° Les ports de mer, & particulièrement ceux de Sind, de Barocha, de Suratte, & de Cambaye, sont taxez à de grosses sommes Suratte seul rend ordinairement *trente laqs* pour les droits d'entrées, & *onze laqs* pour le profit des monnoyes qu'on y fait battre 6° Toute la côte de Coromandel, et les Ports situés sur les bords du Gange, produisent de gros revenus au Souverain 7° Ce qui les augmente infiniment c'est l'héritage qu'il perçoit universellement de tous ses Sujets Mahométans qui sont à sa solde, tous les meubles, tout l'argent, & tous les effets de celui qui meurt, appartiennent de droit à l'Empereur Par là les femmes des Gouverneurs de Provinces & des Generaux d'armées, sont souvent réduites à une pension modique, & leurs enfans, s'ils sont sans mérite, sont réduits à la mendicite 8° Les tributs des Rajas sont assez considérables pour tenir place parmi les principaux revenus du Mogol Tout ce casuel de l'Empire, égale, à peu pres, ou surpasse même les immenses richesses que l'Empereur perçoit des seuls* fonds de terre de son Domaine On est étonné sans doute d'une si prodigieuse opulence, mais il faut considérer que tant de richesses n'entre dans les trésors du Mogol, que pour en sortir tous les ans, du moins en partie, & pour couler une autre fois sur ses terres La moitié de l'Empire subsiste par les libéralitez du Prince, ou du moins elle est à ses gages Outre ce grand nombre d'Officiers & de Soldats qui ne vivent que de la paye, tous les Paisans de la campagne, qui ne labourent que pour le Souverain sont nourris à ses frais & presque tous les Artisans des villes, qu'on fait travailler pour le Mogol, sont payez du Tresor

Impérial On conjecture assez quelle est la dépendance des Sujets, & par conséquent quelle est leur déférence pour leur Maître

IV. "Memoire oublié à inserer dans mon premier Ouvrage pour perfectionner la Carte de l'Indoustan, et savoir les Revenus du Grand Mogol "

1	Dehli	.	...	...	...	1,95,25,000
2	Agra	...	...	...	...	2,52,25,000
3	Lahor	..	...	...	...	2,46,95,000
4	Hasmîr ¹	...	...	...	...	2,19,70,000
5	Gujarât (Ahmadabad)	...	...	...	...	1,33,95,000
6	Kandahar ²	..	...	...	...	19,92,500
7	Malwah	...	...	...	...	91,62,500
8	Patna or Bihâr	...	...	...	...	95,80,000
9	Allahâbâd	...	...	...	...	94,70,000
10	Oude	...	...	...	...	68,30,000
11	Multân	...	...	...	...	1,18,40,500
12	"Jagannat"	...	...	...	...	72,70,000
13	Kashmîr	...	...	...	...	3,50,000
14	Kabul	...	...	...	...	32,72,500
15	Tata	...	...	...	...	23,20,000
16	Aurangâbâd	...	...	...	...	1,72,27,500
17	"Varada"	...	...	...	...	1,58,75,000
18	Khandés	...	...	...	...	1,85,50,000
19	Tilingana ³	..	...	...	...	68,85,000
20	Bagnala ⁴	...	...	...	...	5,00,000

Rs 22,59,14,500 or £22,591,450

—Bernier's Voyages, Amsterdam, 1724, vol. II, p. 354

¹ Qui appartient à un Raja, donne au roi de tribut, etc

² Chiefly under Persia, Pergunnahs remaining to India pay as above

³ Talengand, qui confine au Royaume de Golkonda du côté de Massipatan, a quarante trois Pragnas "

⁴ Bagnala qui confine aux terres des Portugais et aux montagnes de Sevagi, ce Raja qui a saccagé Sourate, a deux Serkara, huit Pragnas "

GENERAL INDEX.

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